

Managing Value Conflicts:
An Examination of Values and Value Conflicts in
Third Sector Organisations in Scotland

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an understanding of value conflicts and how they are managed within third sector organisations in Scotland, particularly among front-line workers. Despite existing literature acknowledging the importance of 'values' for third sector organisations and their employees and an external environment which increasingly puts pressures on third sector organisations to adopt characteristics and values associated with the public and private sectors (organisational hybridity), there have been limited attempts to understand how value conflicts manifest within organisations and how they are managed.

Case studies were carried out in three third sector organisations in Scotland and mainly consisted of interviews with employees and managers. The research strategy was guided by Critical Realism and the broad theoretical framework utilises theories of values, Strategic Action Fields and social identity processes to understand social behaviour within third sector organisations. Specific theories of organisational hybridity, institutional logics and street-level bureaucrats help to frame the specific context and understand how value conflicts are managed.

This thesis found that conflicts revolved around the competing values of 'client-focus' versus 'business-orientated' approaches, although value conflicts played out differently depending on organisational context. Front-line workers unanimously favoured a 'client-focused' approach and developed a variety of strategies that helped them manage potential value conflicts.

This thesis contributes to existing knowledge through highlighting the crucial role played by values in social behaviour and by identifying strategies that may be used by front-line workers to help manage potential value conflicts. This thesis also contributes to existing debates and informs existing theories through highlighting the normative aspects of human behaviour and the centrality of values in the motivations of individuals, groups and organisations.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CR – Critical Realism

CSOs – Case study organisations

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

ESRC – Economic and Social Research Council

FLWs – Front-line workers

FRE – Framework for Research Ethics

FTE – Full-time equivalent

HRM – Human Resource Management

LA – Local authority

NCVO – National Council for Voluntary Organisations

NHS – National Health Service

NPM – New Public Management

OSCR – Office for Scottish Charity Regulator

PSM – Public Service Motivation

PSE – Public Service Ethos

SAFs – Strategic Action Fields

SCT – Self-categorisation theory

SCVO - Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations

SIT – Social Identity Theory

SNP – Scottish National Party

TSOs – Third sector organisations

TUPE – Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment)

VSE – Voluntary Service Ethos

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines value conflicts and how they are managed within third sector organisations in Scotland, particularly by front-line workers. The third sector has a long and varied history that can be traced back to voluntary hospitals set up as early as the twelfth-century, through Charitable Trusts which provided poor relief and education from the sixteenth century onwards, to modern third sector organisations delivering public services today. Many third sector organisations have a 'value expressive' function (Kendall and Knapp 1995), sharing common values and norms such as beneficence, reciprocity and solidarity, and one goal of voluntary organisations has been to help the vulnerable and/or disadvantaged in society. Over the last 30 or so years the role of third sector organisations has also increasingly included delivering public services funded through public funding and this has resulted in an increase in the paid workforce within the third sector (although, like the public sector, the third sector is currently contracting due to cuts to funding of public services). In conjunction with the increasing adoption of 'private sector' techniques via New Public Management in the public sector (e.g. Evers 2005) this has led to the 'blurring of the boundaries' between the state, the market and the third sector (Kendall 2009; Taylor 2004). This 'blurring of the boundaries' leads to organisational 'hybridity' as third sector organisations which deliver public services take on characteristics of both the public and private sectors (Billis 2010b), leading to increased tensions between the different 'organisational logics' that derive from the different sectors (Skelcher and Smith 2013). This thesis argues that 'logics' can be recast as 'values' (see 2.4) and that doing so allows for a much clearer recognition of the normative aspects of organisational behaviour.

It is commonly argued that workers in public services have an intrinsic motivation to work in the sector that goes beyond basic monetary incentives to work (e.g. Benz 2005) and this distinctive intrinsic orientation towards work has been described as a 'public service' ethos (e.g. Steen and Rutgers 2011). Similar claims have been made for the

distinctiveness of the paid workforce in the third sector based on characteristics of altruism, a commitment to a particular group or cause, a desire to care and related political and ideological beliefs (Cunningham 2010).

Concerns have been raised that the introduction of private sector values into the public sector (via New Public Management) has created value conflicts within public services (Van der Wal et al 2011) and undermined the 'public service ethos' (Hood 1991; Pollitt 2003) of workers in the public sector. Since third sector organisations and their employees are characterised as having values-based orientations, the increasing trend towards 'hybridity' of third sector organisations and the taking on of 'logics' (values) of other sectors may present challenges for the altruistic and caring orientations of organisations and their employees, in the form of value conflicts.

1.2 Gaps in the Literature

Given the increasing pressures towards 'hybrid' organisations, there is little understanding of how organisations manage the conflicting 'logics' (values), despite authors having described the key characteristics of 'hybridity' and 'institutional logics' (Billis 2010b; Skelcher and Smith 2013) and having identified that the growth of hybrid organisations is problematic for the third sector because of the challenge to the sector's essential identity (Macmillan 2012). Macmillan (2012) recognises the importance of 'hybridity' for questions of organisational identity, marking a step towards examining the importance of values for the identity of third sector organisations in the context of hybridity. However, he neither addresses how individual third sector organisations manage the conflicting values that may emerge through increased organisational hybridity, nor how different third sector organisations adopt different responses to the environmental pressures to hybridise.

Research examining paid employees within third sector organisations is relatively limited although Cunningham (2010; 2011) has made significant contributions to understanding the distinctive motivations of paid employees in the third sector by an exploration of the 'voluntary service ethos' and by examining the impacts of austerity, contracting out and 'personalisation' on the paid workers (Cunningham 2015). While third

sector employees have been described as having intrinsic value-based motivations leading them to choose work in the sector, (including a commitment to users and a 'person-centred' care (Cunningham et al 2014)), there has been limited exploration either of the precise nature of employees' values or of the meaning, significance and practice of a commitment to users and 'person-centred' care.

It is important to address the issue of the values of third sector employees because their altruistic and client-focused values underpin their assumed intrinsic motivation and commitment to their work. However, in a context of increasing pressures to hybridise among third sector organisations, there has been little research concerning the extent to which conflicts of values arise for employees, the impact of any such conflicts and the responses of employees. Earlier work in the field of public management has examined how public sector workers (street-level bureaucrats) put social policies into practice at ground level, arguing that these street-level bureaucrats adopt various strategies to manage tensions created by under-resourcing, ever-increasing demands and difficulties measuring performance (Lipsky 2010[1980]). Lipsky's work on street-level bureaucrats provides some indications of how public service employees manage tensions between different expectations of public service agencies, but it is based only on the experience of public service workers in America, and does not specifically address value conflicts.

More generally, despite values being intrinsic to public policy decisions, there is limited work on theorising values and value conflicts in the context of public administration, and the concept of 'public values' is contested by different authors (e.g. Bozeman 2007; De Graaf and van der Wal 2010). Although van der Wal et al (2011) have argued that introducing private sector values (via NPM) has introduced value conflict into public services, theories explaining the processes involved in value conflicts have been thin on the ground since concepts in the field of Public Management are prone to under-theorisation (Waldo 1968, quoted in Hood 1998). This presents difficulties investigating values and value conflicts in a public service context and it is therefore necessary to borrow theories from fields other than Public Management (e.g. sociology; social psychology; philosophy). The importance of values in human experience and behaviour has been recently explored by Sayer (2011) who highlights their role as guiding principles for human action which require the interplay between reflexivity and habitus. Sayer (2011)

also argues for a greater consideration of moral dimensions in sociological thought. Nussbaum (2001) argues that emotions are central to providing human beings with guides to action, and Archer (2000) argues emotions are central to what human beings care about and the act of caring itself and therefore are central to personal identity. However, despite this work on theorising values, emotions and identity, there has been little empirical testing of the theories and, indeed, these theories themselves are at a high level of abstraction and require additional theories, such as street-level bureaucrats, hybridity and institutional 'logics' (outlined above) to operationalise them in a particular field of study.

1.3 Aims

The observations derived from examining the gaps in the literature show that there is limited understanding of value conflicts in the context of increasing hybridity. While there is some literature that examines the distinctive orientation of third sector employees, there is a lack of evidence about the value conflicts that may arise out of third sector employees' distinctive orientation (commitment to users and 'person-centred' care') in the context of increasingly 'hybrid' third sector organisations which introduce values from other sectors. Additionally, theorising on values and identity at a general level is somewhat sketchy and sometimes disparate stands of theory need to be brought together and integrated to provide a robust theoretical framework.

In the light of the gaps identified in the literature, this thesis sets out to examine a number of key research questions. Since there is limited understanding of the value conflicts that may result from increasing 'hybridity' in third sector organisations and from the variety of organisations within the third sector, a key research question is to examine how tensions between different values in organisations manifest in specific organisational contexts.

There is a lack of detailed evidence regarding the distinctive orientation of third sector workers and so a further aim of this research is to examine the expressed values of third sector workers. There are also limits to existing understandings of the implications of

increasing ‘hybridity’ in third sector organisations for third sector employees and therefore a further research question is to examine how far third sector employees experience value conflicts, and to identify the sources of value conflicts experienced. In order to understand the role of identity and values in value conflicts, the research aims to establish the extent to which individuals (workers) identify with other groups in the organisation and to what extent values are a source of identity differentiation between and within social groups.

There is some evidence to indicate how workers (street-level bureaucrats) put social policies into practice and manage tensions created by different operational priorities, but this material is somewhat dated, based in a different policy context to the UK and Scotland and has not been cast in terms of value conflicts. Therefore, in addition to identifying value conflicts experienced by workers, a final research aim is to identify how individuals manage value conflicts and what strategies (if any) they employ to help them cope with value conflicts and maintain a sense of motivation in their day-to-day work.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The following chapter (Chapter Two) reviews the literature regarding how the third sector is defined; the evolving historical-political relationship between the third sector and the state and, finally, the trend towards increasing organisational ‘hybridity’. The aim of Chapter Two is to establish what is unique about third sector organisations compared to organisations in other sectors (especially the public sector) and to highlight the centrality of ‘values’ to third sector organisations. This chapter also aims to highlight the changing historical and policy contexts which have resulted in the role of the sector changing significantly in its long history, focusing particularly on the third sector’s continually changing relationship with the state. Chapter Two concludes that the third sector has a unique history and identity that distinguishes it from the state, but that the state has played a role in shaping the third sector, resulting in increasing organisational ‘hybridity’ and increased tensions between the competing logics/values inherent in different sectors.

Having examined the relevant literature regarding third sector organisations, Chapter Three moves on to focus on employment within the sector, focusing on a review of the

literature about the third sector workforce and Human Resource Management (HRM) within the third sector. The first section aims to identify the values that are important to employees working in the third sector through examining research regarding commitment. This section evaluates the extent to which public service employees evidence a 'public service ethos' and whether there is a distinctive 'voluntary sector ethos'. It then considers whether the 'intrinsic' motivations of public service workers have been eroded by the market-orientated values prescribed by New Public Management techniques. The second section of Chapter Three aims to consider the implications of HRM practice in the third sector for understanding the values and value conflicts that arise in third sector organisations and for the third sector workforce.

Chapter Four develops a theoretical framework which provides a theoretically-grounded basis from which to examine and explain the role of values in behaviour in organisations and to better understand value conflicts and how they are managed in a public service context, particularly by front-line workers. In order to develop a general theoretical framework to explain values and value conflicts, Chapter Four draws together three conceptual strands including 'values', social identity processes and Strategic Action Fields (SAFs). To examine the more specific topic of interest - third sector organisations and front-line workers in third sector organisations – Chapter Four reviews existing literature on values conflicts, managing value conflicts and street-level bureaucrats in order to supplement the general theoretical framework of values, SAFs, and social identity processes.

Chapter Five explains and provides the rationale for the case study research method employed to investigate the topic of interest and explains the epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning the thesis. This chapter explains the rationale for selecting the case study organisations and the tools employed to gather data as well as considering the ethical implications for the research.

Chapters Six and Seven present the research findings from the three case studies. Chapter Six introduces the three case study organisations (CSOs) and aims to examine how tensions between different values in third sector organisations manifest in

particular contexts. Chapter Six focuses on the organisational level of analysis and presents examples of value conflicts observed in each of the CSOs. This chapter demonstrates that value conflicts were experienced within each of the three CSOs, but that the manner in which the values conflicts manifested differed and the organisations responded to potential value conflicts in different ways. Chapter Seven focuses on the experience of front-line workers (FLWs) in the CSOs and aims to address a number of research questions regarding FLWs' experience of value conflicts, the sources of value conflicts, the role of values in group identity, and how these value conflicts are managed by FLWs.

Chapter Eight discusses the findings from Chapters Six and Seven. This chapter highlights the contribution of this thesis to existing knowledge in two respects. Firstly, by considering the extent to which the findings support or challenge the existing literature in relation to how organisations and FLWs manage value conflicts in the third sector in Scotland. Secondly, by considering how the findings from the research support the broader conceptual framework to explain the role of values in human behaviour more generally.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by highlighting the distinctive contribution of the thesis, considering the policy implications arising from the findings, discussing the limitations of the research and, finally, outlining some possibilities for future research emerging from the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: THE THIRD SECTOR IN CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to identify what, if anything, is distinctive about the third sector and to understand the changing role of the sector within the historical and political context of the UK generally, and Scotland in particular. This is essential in order to understand the context within which third sector organisations and their employees find themselves and to begin to grasp some of the complex challenges facing organisations and workers, particularly the potential for value conflicts which they face.

Firstly, this chapter examines how the sector is defined. This discussion places the emergence of the specific term ‘the third sector’ in the context of the policy discourses in the UK and then goes on to examine some of the meanings of the concept and the difficulties inherent in its definition and to argue that a ‘value expressive’ function is central.

Secondly, this chapter considers the broader historical-political context of the sector and traces the changing relationship between the third sector and the state during different historical political periods. This section examines the origins of the ‘mixed economy of welfare’ and the key role that the third sector has come to play in public service provision. There is also increasing emphasis to adopt ‘business-style’ measures within the sector in the context of on-going policy changes and, particularly, the impact of austerity policies.

Finally, this chapter returns to some of the difficulties of defining the sector and introduces the concept of ‘hybridity’ as an alternative way to understand many modern third sector organisations. The concept of ‘hybrid’ organisations also provides an important way of understanding how the ‘logics’ of different organisational identities based on different sectors can result in conflicting values.

2.2 What is the Third Sector?

Haugh and Kitson (2007) trace the emergence of the term ‘third sector’ back to the USA where it was first used in the 1970s, and to the 1980s when it first appeared in European Economic Community official documents. In the UK, however, the term is linked to New Labour and the ‘Third Way’ agenda and Alcock (2010) traces the change in policy discourse in the UK through the various government departments responsible for policy implementation. He cites the shift from the Voluntary Services Unit to the Action Community Unit and then to the Office of the Third Sector in 2006, which included social enterprises. He argues that this reflects an emerging consensus *“about the use of the term ‘third sector’ to describe an entity with a number of common ideological features and, more importantly perhaps, to support a common policy response”* (Alcock 2010, p. 14).

Alcock (2010) refers to this approach as ‘strategic unity’ for the purposes of policy, since in reality the sector is widely recognised as being diverse and fractured (Osborne and Super 2010), or, to borrow a phrase from Kendall and Knapp (1995), ‘a loose and baggy monster’. Westall (2009) similarly argues that the definition of the third sector was ‘more pragmatic than conceptual’ (Westall 2009, p. 3) while Macmillan (2012) prefers the term ‘strategic alliance’ to ‘strategic unity’ because unity implies more coherence and similarity across the sector than actually exists.

Defining the third sector is therefore somewhat of a challenge. Dacombe and Bach’s (2009) review found that most definitions related to the particular purposes, approach and intended audience of individual studies, and this resulted in a plurality of meanings of the term ‘third sector’. As seen above, the definition adopted by UK government is necessarily broad, and this is also true of government in Scotland (Dacombe and Bach 2009).

The term ‘third sector’ also tends to be used interchangeably with the term ‘voluntary sector’ (Dacombe and Bach 2009), and is also associated with the social economy, the community sector and the social enterprise sector (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). Bridge et

al. (2009) illustrate the variety of labels used for the sector as a whole or for parts of it in Exhibit 2.1 below:

Exhibit 2.1 Labels for the 'third sector', or large parts of it

Third sector, Third system, Third way
Non-profit, or Not-for-profit, sector
Social economy, Social enterprise sector
Voluntary sector, Voluntary and community sector, Community sector, Community enterprise, Community economy
Self-help economy, Family economy
Organised civil society

Source: Bridge et al (2009), p. 51

Third Sector organisations differ from each other in a number of ways, including function, type of industry and field of activity. For instance, Kendall and Knapp (1995) reviewed various definitions and typologies of the voluntary sector and they identified the various social functions of these organisations as: service providing; mutual aid; pressure-group; individual advocacy, and as a resource and/or co-ordinating function. Organisations often perform several of these social functions. Voluntary organisations also work across a wide range of industries and fields of activity, as indicated by the International Classification of Nonprofit Organisations (ICNPO). Major groups in this classification include: culture and recreation; education and research; health; social services; environment; development and housing; law, advocacy and politics; philanthropic intermediaries and voluntarism promotion; international activities; religion, and business, professional associations and unions (United Nations 2003).

A commonly used framework for defining the 'third sector' or 'voluntary sector' is a structural-operational definition of the kind employed by Salamon and Anheier (1997) and Kendall and Knapp (1995). Both these definitions cover five key features: formally organised; independent of government; self-governing; non-profit distributing, and voluntarism. However, these definitions have been criticised for being static and not taking into account historical-cultural variations. Evers and Laville (2004) introduce a historical-dynamic approach, arguing that the characteristics of third sector organisations vary between different countries and are shaped by national and regional traditions. They

argue that Salamon and Anheier's (1997) definition reflects the third sector in the USA, but is less applicable to European countries because of contextual differences. For instance, co-operatives (which commonly provide public services, particularly in Spain and Italy and tend not to distribute profits) are excluded by Salamon and Anheier because those in the USA tend to distribute profits. Evers and Laville (2004) also argue the third sector is politically embedded in each country, having a different relationship to the state and the citizen.

However, these various attempts to define the third sector do not consider the normative differences between the sectors. Anheier (2005) takes a step towards identifying differences based on values by distinguishing what he calls the 'objective function' (which is essentially the fundamental purpose of the sectors). For business firms the objective function is profit maximization; for a government agency it is social welfare maximisation; for a member-serving non-profit such as an association the objective function is member benefit maximization, and for a public-serving non-profit providing services it is client group benefit maximisation. While Anheier (2005) does not explicitly discuss the normative purpose of sectors, values are nevertheless inherent in the 'objective functions' he identifies. Anheier (2005) identifies the 'objective function' of third sector organisations delivering public services ('public-serving non-profit providing services') as 'client group benefit maximization' indicating that these organisations' fundamental value is to improve the lot of their clients. Kendall and Knapp (1995) are more explicit in recognising the normative dimensions of the third sector and argue that the sector has a distinctive 'value expressive' function of such organisations, since they tend to be formed because of shared common values and share norms such as beneficence, reciprocity and solidarity. Similarly, Frumkin (2005) argues that values are a key distinguishing feature of non-profit and voluntary activity, and that the reason values are often overlooked in definitions is because of the difficulties in measuring and documenting values. The importance of this normative aspect of third sector organisations is thrown into sharper relief if the history of the relationship between the third sector and the state is examined.

2.3 The Third Sector and the State

Lewis (1999) and Kendall (2009) examined the changing relations between the third sector and the state in the UK, noting a number of phases in the twentieth century. The more recent review by Kendall (2009) argues for ‘hyperactive mainstreaming’ under New Labour, where there has been an ‘unprecedented, deliberate and sustained’ level of policy directed across (horizontally) the sector with the aim of integrating the third sector into mainstream service provision. Kendall (2009) argues that more recently (mid-late 1990s) there has been more contestation about the role of the sector and an emerging tension between the different policy priorities. These tensions come about because policy makers attribute a variety of purposes and roles to the third sector. Alcock (2010) identifies these as emerging ‘constellations’ of discourses, while Kendall (2009) refers to these as ‘constellations’ with contrasting orientations. These include: the consumerist approach which sees the third sector as an alternative to state and market failure; civil renewal/revival focusing on third sector contributions to civil order and promoting the sector as a response to a perceived democratic deficit; a democratic approach which views the sector as a vehicle for community empowerment through group action and engagement of local citizens.

This chapter later returns to some of these tensions and examines the concept of ‘hybridity’ as a way of understanding them. However, before that, the chapter puts the third sector in its historical-political context by examining the changing nature of the relationship between the sector and the state. The third sector and the state have had a long and changing relationship and the following section examines how the particular arrangements between the sector and the state that pertain now came into being. This process is ongoing, and devolution may ultimately mean that in Scotland the sector has a different relationship with the state than it does elsewhere in the UK.

2.3.1 Historical Perspectives: Policy before 1979

Historically, voluntary action has played a key role in the provision of welfare to residents within the UK, although its role has changed in relation to the changing role of the state.

Early forms of voluntary action included mutual aid and friendly societies which have been traced back as far as the first century AD in the UK (Kendall and Knapp 1996). Smith (1995) identifies two distinct strands of historical voluntary action in the form of philanthropy/charity which often focused on helping the vulnerable and/or disadvantaged in society and mutual aid/self-help, which provided support for oneself and others who shared a similar characteristic. Both strands of voluntary action have a long history dating back to the twelfth and sixteenth centuries respectively

By the eighteenth century, voluntary associations provided for a wide range of services including education; employment; hospital; child welfare; the development of museums, libraries and public gardens as well as moral reform and discipline. Friendly societies were also popular at this time and provided limited social insurance for their members (Smith 1995). Increasingly, voluntary associations were associated with civic society since they were perceived as an important component in regulating democratic society. As such they were independent of public authorities, although some forged co-operative links in order to deal with issues such as poverty (Evers and Laville 2004).

By 1911, reforms by the Liberal government had begun to enlarge the role of the state and the role of the friendly societies diminished as a result of the National Insurance Act 1911. In contrast, philanthropy in the form of voluntary associations expanded between the wars. Associations became more specialised in order to fill the gaps left by statutory provision and by 1934 an estimated thirty-seven per cent of total income of registered charities was provided by the state for the provision of services, showing the increasing partnership between the state and the voluntary sector (Smith 1995).

The post-1945 reforms brought into being the modern welfare state. The National Insurance Act of 1946 mostly ended the role for friendly societies (Smith 1995), since more comprehensive social insurance was now provided by the state. Other reforms such as the National Health Service Act (1946) also had a significant impact on the role of voluntary associations which generally became marginalised and significantly reduced in the areas of health, unemployment and poverty (Deakin 1995). However, the voluntary sector did not disappear and while its role in service provision became seen as supporting

and complementary towards the state, its role in civic society remained important (Smith 1995).

One limitation of the research that focuses on early developments in voluntary action is that the distinct experience in Scotland is often overlooked. Research tends to focus on the experience in England (Smith 1995) or conflate Scotland with the whole of the UK (e.g. Hilton et al 2012). While some authors claim that there is a strong tradition of 'grass roots' organisations and community development initiatives in Scotland (Kendall and Knapp 1996; Kemp 1997), no details or references are provided that substantiate or elaborate such claims. However, Scotland has long had an independent Church, independent education and legal systems, and arrangements for the administration of charities and the legal status of charities have been identified as being different from those in England and Wales (Kendall and Knapp 1996). The following sections examine the changing relationship between the state and the third sector during different political administrations in the UK from 1979, taking the UK as a whole, and then examining the particular experience in Scotland since Devolution in 1999 when greater powers over policy beyond education and the legal system were devolved to Scotland.

2.3.2 The Conservative Era: 1979-1997

The election of a Conservative government in 1979, led by Margaret Thatcher, signalled a new era of reducing public spending and 'rolling back the state' (Deakin 1995). The Wolfenden Committee Report (1978) on the Future of Voluntary Organisations identified four sectors involved in the provision of welfare including the state/public sector, the informal sector (e.g. families, communities), the market/private sector and the voluntary sector. The Wolfenden Report opened up the way for expansion of the voluntary sector (and private sector) in the delivery of public services through an increasingly 'mixed economy of welfare' (Harris and Rochester, 2001). This shift in role for the voluntary sector was also signalled by the reformation of the National Council for Social Service into the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) in 1980, with a new remit including an increased focus on voluntary sector-government relations and on improving the capacity and effectiveness of organisations in the voluntary sector (Harris and Rochester, 2001). However, it was not until 1987 that significant structural reforms

were enacted that led to voluntary organisations becoming more active in the delivery of welfare. Deakin (1995) argues that the reforms were made at this point in time because the way had been cleared by reducing the role and power of local authorities, so that the Conservative government had *'in substance won their battle with local authorities'* (Deakin 1995, p. 59). The purchaser-provider split in public services meant that public services were increasingly contracted out to non-state providers while the state's role was reduced to that of purchaser of services rather than provider. This new 'welfare pluralism' meant an increasing role for voluntary organisations in the delivery of public services and the sector benefited from a huge increase in direct funding in the 1980s and 1990s with the opportunity to compete for delivery of services through the development of the 'contract culture' (Deakin 1995; Taylor 2004).

As well as expansion in the sector as a result of new funding opportunities, the voluntary sector also experienced a number of other changes. The New Public Management (NPM) ushered in a new form of managerialism into the sector through the adoption of practices from the private sector in order to become more 'business-like' (Deakin 1995; Harris and Rochester, 2001) and numbers of paid staff in the sector increased along with (arguably) the levels of professionalization (Clark and Wilding 2011). The new market-based culture in the sector also led to increasing entrepreneurialism, more aggressive funding-raising strategies, and the development of trading arms which generated income (Taylor 2004).

2.3.4 New Labour: 1997-2010

With the election of the New Labour government in 1997, a new philosophy of the 'Third Way' between the market and the state emerged, which combined neoliberalism with promotion of a stronger civil society (Taylor 2004; Haugh and Kitson 2007). Underlying part of this philosophy was the notion that 'social capital' (conceptualised by Castiglione et al. (2008) *"as the resources provided by one's involvement in a network of relationships"* (Castiglione et al. (2008, p. 4)) could be developed by involvement in community and public life. Additionally, the Third Way was said to promote increasing choice and responsiveness in services (Kendall 2003) and spawned the discourse of 'partnership' working and encouraged 'enterprise' (Taylor 2004).

The 'Third Way' introduced a new relationship between the state and the third sector and opened up new opportunities for the sector as exemplified in the following extract from HM Treasury policy document on Enterprise and Social Exclusion:

The social economy¹ can be effective at developing services which may be unattractive or inappropriate for the private sector, or cannot be delivered effectively by the public sector. It can also be valuable in engaging local people in economic activities in ways that public agencies have found difficult. The social economy does not simply provide substitutes for real jobs and services where there has been market failure. It also helps develop a stronger sense of community.

(HM Treasury 1999, p. 14, cited in Taylor 2004, p. 137)

The new state-third sector relationship was not just enforced top-down from the state, but had been recommended by parts of the third sector itself in the form of the Deakin Commission (1996) in England and Wales and the Kemp Report (1997) in Scotland. In England and Wales, the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) established the Deakin Commission (published in 1996) to review the future role of the third sector. In Scotland, the NCVO's sister organisation, the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) funded a similar review lead by A Kemp published in 1997 which focused on the sector in Scotland. The Deakin Commission and the Kemp Commission made similar recommendations including the increased closeness of relations between the state and the third sector, increasing contract funding for the provision of services, and also recommended regulation and formalisation of relations between the state and the third sector (Deakin 1996 Kemp 1997)). In addition, The Kemp Commission reported that the legal and regulatory framework in Scotland was weaker than in England and Wales and recommended dedicated support mechanisms and registration of Scottish charities (Kemp 1997), although it was not until the Charities and Trustee Investment (Scotland) Act 2005 that the Scottish Charity Regulator (OSCR) was established to regulate and register charities in Scotland (OSCR 2017).

¹ 'social economy' is either considered part of the Third Sector or synonymous with it (Bridge et al 2009, p. 18). See 2.2 earlier in this chapter.

The New Labour government introduced numerous measures to underscore the importance of the third sector in public policy. Recommended by the Deakin Commission (1996), the compact between government and representatives of the third sector agreed to improve their relationship and mainstream the sector into government policy (Kelly 2007; Haugh and Kitson 2007). Further compacts were agreed at national and local levels which 'served to incorporate third sector organisations into public policy' (Haugh and Kitson 2007, p. 984). Local partnerships for the delivering of services were formalised in Local Strategic Partnerships. The Cross Cutting Review (HM Treasury 2002) made explicit the key role third sector organisations would play in reform and delivery of public services and led to the investment programmes of Futurebuilders and ChangeUp, which aimed to build capacity of the sector at community level and strengthen infrastructure in key priority areas respectively (Kelly 2007; Haugh and Kitson 2007).

The Cabinet Office Review (2002) proposed updating and expanding the range of charitable purposes and increasing entrepreneurship (Taylor 2004), which came into effect with the Charities Act 2006. The Companies (Audit, Investigations and Community Enterprise) Act 2004, introduced a new legal status of the Community Interest Company which essentially provided limited liability for social enterprises providing community benefit. This enabled companies to raise private finance and return a profit to investors, although much of the surplus must go to the community (Bridge et al 2009). In 2002, the Social Enterprise Unit at the Department of Trade and Industry was set up in order to develop the 'entrepreneurial potential of the sector' (Haugh and Kitson 2007, p. 985). These measures thereby introduced explicit characteristics from the private sector into the third sector.

2.3.5 UK Coalition Government: 2010 onwards

The May 2010 UK general election resulted in a further key change of government at Westminster from the Labour majority that had been in power for the previous 13 years, to a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government. Emerging out of Conservative Party policy, the Big Society agenda was promoted in order to contrast with New Labour's supposed 'Big State', and involved transferring power from the state to the citizen

with voluntary action and social enterprise playing a key role in improving social inclusion. The Office for Civil Society replaced the previous administration's Office of the Third Sector but despite initiatives such as the Big Society Bank, the National Citizen Service and Community First, the Big Society appears to have had a limited impact to date (Alcock 2012a) and, secondly, the role of the Office for Civil Society has been limited because its budget has been cut by around 60% (Alcock 2012a).

2.3.6 Scotland since Devolution: 1999 Onwards

Since devolution in 1999, third sector policy has been a matter for the individual devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The Office for Civil Society, therefore, relates to the third sector in England only. In addition, the Big Society policy agenda was not been taken up by the devolved administrations (Alcock 2012b). Alcock (2012b) notes that political ideologies between Scotland and England have diverged since Labour lost power, with Scotland as a whole being more centre-left, favouring stronger government and public services than their counterparts at Westminster.

In September 1999, the Scottish Parliament was established based at Holyrood in Edinburgh and until 2007, Scotland operated under a Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition government. Since then, the Scottish National Party (SNP) have governed as a minority-government and then as a majority government from 2012. The third sector in Scotland has been separately organised since before devolution, having a separate Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO), Association of Chief Officers of Scottish Voluntary Organisations (ACOSVO) and Voluntary Development Scotland. The Scottish Social Enterprise Coalition (SSEC) was established in 2005 (Alcock 2009) and devolution introduced separate governance structures in Scotland with the Third Sector Division at the Scottish Executive (the Scottish Government since 2007) having responsibility for the third sector in Scotland. There was also a Scottish Compact, an agreement similar to the English Compact between government and representatives of the third sector (Fyfe et al 2006) and financial support was provided through a FutureBuilders Scotland Fund, a Scottish Investment Fund, a Third Sector Enterprise Fund and a Social Entrepreneurs Fund. The Charities and Trustee Investment (Scotland) Act 2005 updated the charity law

and introduced regulation and registration under the Office of the Scottish Charity Reg- ular (OSCR) (Alcock 2009; Fyfe et al 2006).

Alcock argues that the Third Sector in Scotland has '*a distinct and separate history*' (Al- cock 2009, p. 10) being more devolved and having more of a local focus. Scotland has large remote areas such as the Highlands where public sector activity is limited and, in these areas, community based voluntary action is of particular importance in filling some of these service gaps as well as providing a focus for social activity. However, Vincent and Harrow (2005) found that this led to a greater perceived dependence on public funding by some third sector organisations in Scotland.

Generally, though, Alcock concluded that '*the broad direction of third sector policy has been remarkably similar*' (Alcock 2009, p. 15) between all the policy regimes in the de- volved nations, including Scotland, although devolution created new opportunities for third sector involvement in devolved policy and practice. Vincent and Harrow (2005) also found an 'unexpected degree of convergence between English and Scots organisa- tions in the governmental relations' (Vincent and Harrow 2005, p. 391). The Westmin- ster government and the Holyrood government therefore appear to have been in gen- eral political alignment until the election of the SNP-minority government in Scotland in 2007. Since 2007, the SNP has controlled the Scottish Parliament, first as a minority-led government and then, from 2011, as a majority-led government.

In several respects, SNP policy approach towards the third sector represents a continu- ation of previous Scottish policy since, for instance, the third sector remains important in the delivery of public services and there remains an emphasis on social enterprise and performance measurement. The Enterprising Third Sector Action Plan (2008-2011) af- firmed the Scottish Government commitment to support enterprising behaviour in the third sector. In particular, it aimed to provide business support for third sector organi- sations, to open markets for the third sector and to provide funding and investment for the sector, including significant investment funds (the Scottish Investment Fund and the Enterprise Fund totalling £42M between them). Social Enterprise Scotland supported social enterprises and the Enterprise Ready Fund (worth £6M) continued to support in-

vestment in the sector until 2015 (Osborne et al 2012: Scottish Government 2013). Following the Christie Commission (2011) report on *The Future Delivery of Public Service*, performance measurement continued as a priority and was one of the key policy objectives in the Reform of Public Services (Scottish Government, 2011). The approach aimed to embed a 'performance culture' in Scotland's public services whilst at the same time being transparent and open. The National Performance Framework aimed to simplify and provide a central performance measurement framework across all services while partnership also remains a key principle in the delivery of services, particularly at local level.

However, the SNP shifted the direction of previous Scottish third sector policy through an increased focus on local and community planning and delivery ('localism'), and services focused on users ('personalisation') (Christie Commission 2011). The 2007 Concordat between the Scottish Government and local government devolved control of budgets to local government, including to local authorities and Community Planning Partnerships. Referred to as 'Localism' the devolving of budgets resulted in a major change in third sector infrastructure in Scotland with new third sector 'interfaces' established from 2011 in each planning area in Scotland to represent the third sector on the Community Planning Partnerships (see Osborne et al 2012).

A further major policy shift came in the form of The Social Care (Self-directed Support) (Scotland) Bill 2012 (commonly referred to as the 'personalisation' agenda) which aimed to provide service users with a high level of involvement in the way their care is arranged, and represented an important shift for public service organisations (including a significant number in the third sector) in the way social care services were designed and delivered (Osborne et al 2012). As some of these changes were still on-going at the time the research for this thesis was completed in July 2015 (particularly 'personalisation') it is uncertain what the impact on the third sector will be, and how it will respond, although third sector involvement in public service delivery and encouragement of the third sector to adopt practices associated with the private sector continued.

2.3.7 An Era of Austerity

Austerity is the backdrop within which third sector organisations in Scotland (as the public sector more widely and also elsewhere in the UK) has operated for the past half-decade (Dutton et al 2013) since the UK government adopted a policy of deficit reduction that meant cuts to public funding. Following the 2008 economic crisis ‘deficit reduction’ is anticipated to reduce planned spending on public services in the UK by 16.2 per cent in real terms between April 2010 and March 2017 (Bach 2012), representing a shrinking of the state. At June 2016, the UK public sector employment was at its lowest level since the current public sector employment measurements series began in 1999 (ONS 2016). While exactly comparable figures were not available for the public sector in Scotland, public sector employment in 2016 was at its lowest level since the current public sector employment measures series began in 1999 (down from 545,600 in 1999 compared to 545,100 in 2016 (Scottish Government 2016). The total portion of employment in the public sector has reduced further than the headcount with 20.7 per cent of employed people in Scotland working in the public sector compared to 24.3 per cent in 1999.

While the ‘deficit reduction’ policy was resisted by the SNP in Holyrood, the policy still managed to have a significant impact in Scotland due to reduced overall funding levels coming to Scotland. In addition, within Scotland the SNP policy of Council Tax freezes meant that local authorities were unable to raise funds in line with inflation or demand and, as many Third Sector organisations delivering public services relied heavily on local authority funding, this had the direct effect of reducing levels of funding available. While spending cuts in England have been higher than in Scotland (English local authorities cut spending in real terms by 27 per cent between 2010/11 and 2015/16), Scottish local authorities have also faced spending cuts of 11 per cent, although comparisons between countries are complicated by Scottish authorities being given additional responsibilities within funding. The reductions in central government funding have been identified as the prime driver of the cuts, although a freeze or partial freeze on Council Tax in both countries contributed (Hastings et al 2015)

As a result, funding levels available for third sector organisations in Scotland were significantly reduced with government funding (local, central and other public funding) reduced from £1.87billion in 2010 to £1.68billion in 2013 - a reduction in real terms of eighteen per cent and half of the real terms reductions came via reductions in local authority funding cuts (SVCO 2014). Using longitudinal data from 24 voluntary organisations in the social care sector in Scotland, Cunningham and James (2014) found that austerity reinforced a pre-existing tendency towards NPM-inspired practices and cost-based contracting. These included, increased market-based competition in public services; demands for costs savings; efficiency and value of money, and encouragement of a 'business-like' approach to management. Several studies have examined the impact on the third sector (in Scotland and in other countries) and identified that austerity has exerted downward pressure on pay and working conditions of employees in the third sector (Baines and Cunningham 2015; Cunningham et al 2013); increased levels of job insecurity; work intensification; increased levels of bureaucracy; potential burnout resulting in higher turnover, and implications for employee commitment (Cunningham 2015; Cunningham et al 2014; Dutton et al 2013).

While the budget surplus policy was abandoned in June 2016 by the UK Government following a vote to leave in the European Referendum resulting in the lowering of deficit reduction targets (BBC, October 2016; Reuters July 2016; Emmerson and Pope 2017), new challenges such as the process of the UK leaving the EU represents continued uncertainty for many third sector organisations (Third Force News 2016).

2.3.8 Summary

This review of the third sector in the UK and Scotland has covered the difficulties defining the sector, the third sector's long and changing history, particularly in relation to the state, and more recent policy contexts in the UK and Scotland.

This review has demonstrated that third sector organisations have a wide variety of purposes, functions, activities and structures and that there are difficulties defining the 'third sector'. Definitions often ignore the normative aspect of organisations, but when these are considered, differences between the sectors based on values emerge with

third sector organisations delivering public services oriented towards benefiting their client group. Going further, the sector has been characterised as putting values centre stage through its 'value expressive' functions.

History also shows that values are important to the third sector, with one strand (charity and philanthropy) focused on supporting the vulnerable and disadvantaged in society. More recent history demonstrates the third sector has had a complicated and changing relationship with the state. An increasingly mixed economy of welfare has increased the role of the third sector in delivering public services and increases in contracting out of services resulted in more opportunities for the sector in service delivery. At the same time, there have been increasing pressures for third sector organisations to adopt private sector practices through NPM in public service delivery and the encouragement of entrepreneurship. These pressures continue despite devolution and different governments in Westminster and Holyrood. SNP policies of 'localism' and 'personalisation' represent further significant policy directions with uncertain implications for the third sector in Scotland. The fate of the third sector now seems closely tied to that of the state, and the contraction of the state (due to austerity policies) has also resulted in challenges for the third sector of reduced funding opportunities and intensifying pressures towards NPM and adopting private sector practices.

This review has shown that the role of the third sector has not remained static over its long history, and the last 30 years in particular has seen the sector taking on an increasing variety of different roles. It is to the implications of these multiple roles that the chapter now turns.

2.4 Hybridity

This chapter began by examining some of the difficulties there are in defining the third sector, the relatively neglected normative dimension of the sector, and the increased tensions between the expanding purposes and the roles of the sector. Many commentators have referred to this as a 'blurring of the boundaries' between the state, the market and the third sector (Kendall 2009; Taylor 2004) with the result that value distinctions between the sectors are hard to make because values 'infuse across boundaries'

of different sectors in the context of the mixed economy of welfare (Alcock 2010, p. 9). Evers and Laville (2004) discuss these overlaps in terms of 'tension fields', while a number of other authors go further to argue that these are more fundamental and have resulted in increasingly 'hybridised' organisations (Billis 2010a; Brandsen et al 2005; Evers 2005; Westall 2009; Koppell 2006). Examining hybridity highlights the potential importance and role of 'values' in organisations and helps explain how 'value conflicts' are generated.

Hybrid organisations are those that display a mix of characteristics which are normally associated with different (ideal typical) sectors. For instance, Brandsen et al (2005) defines hybridity thus:

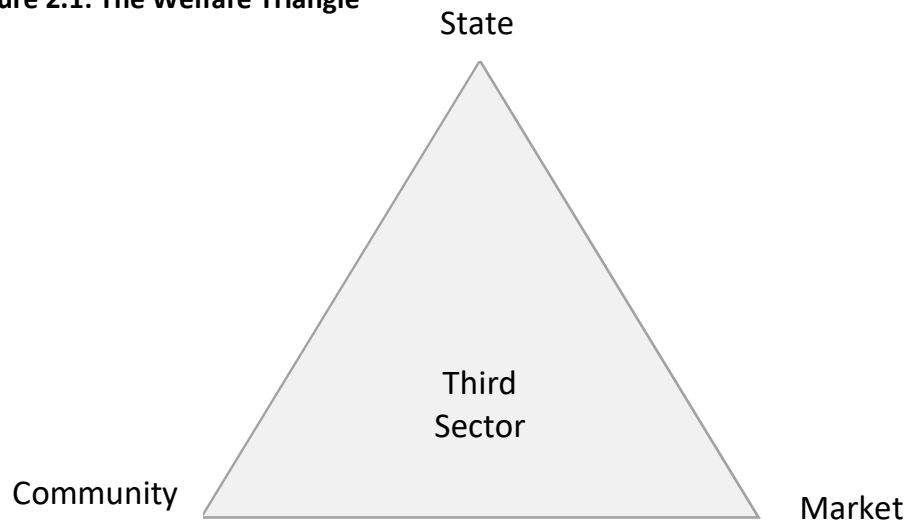
Hybridity refers to heterogeneous arrangements, characterised by mixtures of pure and incongruous origins, (ideal)types, "cultures", "coordination mechanisms", "rationalities", or "action logics" (Brandsen et al 2005, p. 750)

In practice, this may result in a third sector organisation (TSO) which also displays characteristics normally associated with the public sector (for instance, delivering public services) and/or the private sector (e.g. trading).

Harris (2010), Smith (2010) and Evers (2005) argue that policy in the UK, particularly since 1997, has increased the pressure on TSOs to adopt hybridisation. These pressures have come from policy trends such as increased emphasis on partnership and collaboration, market principles and NPM; public service reform towards mixed economy of welfare, as well as increasing localism. Individually and together, these policy pressures have encouraged organisations to focus on 'what works' rather than maintaining a distinctive third sector identity. However, Harris (2010) argues that TSOs also have strong contradictory pressures *not* to 'take on the characteristics of other sectors' (Harris 2010, p. 38) because policy makers also encouraged the role of the third sector in civil society, in developing social capital, in providing an independent voice and in identifying new welfare needs which may be contrary to the previous policy trends mentioned. However, the difficulties for TSOs in maintaining diverse roles in the light of the contradictory pressures to hybridise is rarely recognised.

Authors have conceptualised hybridity in different ways. Some have focused on the boundaries between sectors, such as Westall (2009) who examined the boundary between the third sector and the private sector, in relation to social enterprise (also see Jager and Schroer (2013)). Others seek a more integrated conceptualisation such as Billis (2010b) who develops a model of hybridity that identifies the hybrid zones between the public, private and third sectors. Brandsen et al (2005) and Evers (2005) go further to argue that hybridity and change *are* the defining characteristics of the sector. The third sector is conceived of as existing in relation to the three primary welfare sectors which include the state, the market and the community, as depicted in Figure 2.1 below. For Evers (2005), this is conceived as the third sector existing in a ‘tension field’ between the other three sectors.

Figure 2.1: The Welfare Triangle



Source: simplified from Evers and Laville (2004) & Brandsen et al (2005)

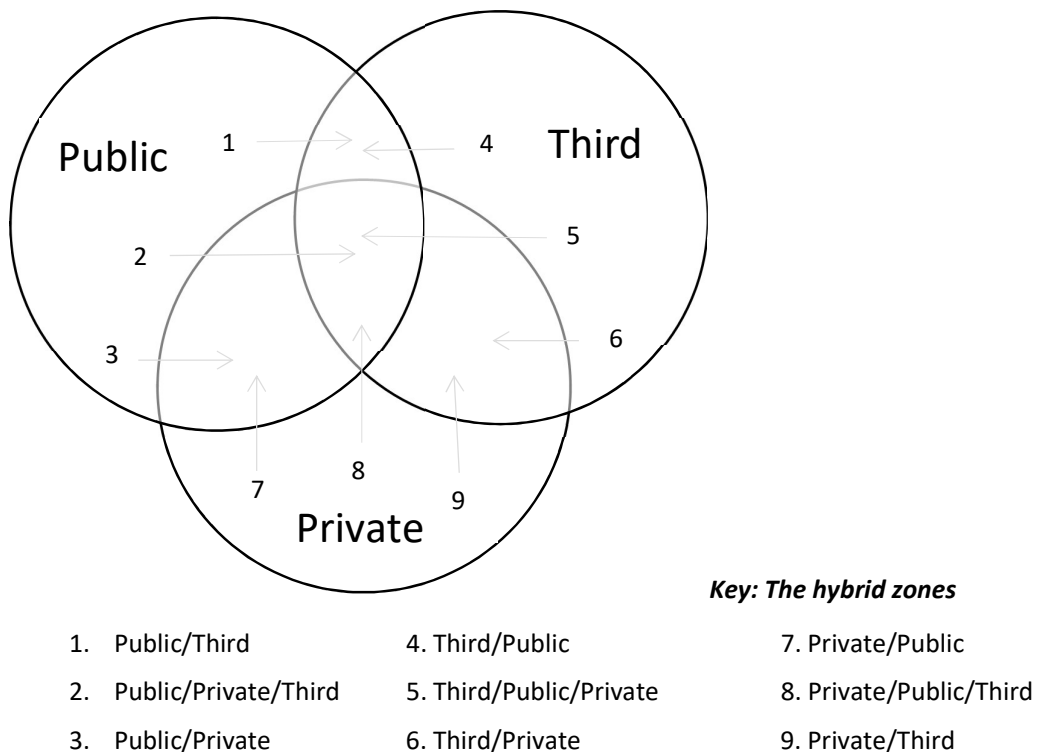
However, this approach denies that there is anything particularly distinctive about the third sector (Buckingham 2010). For instance, Evers (2005) sees little difference between the third sector and the public sector when he says: *“It is often hard to say where the third sector ends and the public sector begins”* (Evers 2005, p. 745). This is contrary to many of the authors who have made efforts to define the sector (see above) as well as those within the sector itself (Baring Foundation 2013).

In addition, hybridity is not unique to the third sector. Private organisations display traits associated with the ‘public sector’ in corporate social responsibility agendas and

state organisations often employ managerial techniques from the private sector (Buckingham 2010).

Billis (2010b) takes a slightly different approach which credits the sector with a distinct identity. He identifies an ideal model for each sector based on what he identifies as five core structural elements of: ownership; governance; operational priorities; human resources, and other resources. He does not suggest that these ideal-typical sectors actually exist in reality, but does indicate that organisations will have '*primary adherence to the principles of one sector*' (Billis, 2010b, p. 56). As a result, he proposes the model depicted in Figure 2.2, which illustrates the three sectors and their hybrid zones:

Figure 2.2: The three sectors and their hybrid zones



Source: Billis 2010b, p. 57

Billis (2010b) makes clear that hybrids are not a separate sector in themselves since there is no evidence that they have distinctive principles from other sectors. He also goes on to make a distinction between shallow and entrenched hybridity. Shallow hybridity involves an organisation taking on some characteristic(s) of other sectors, but in a way that does not challenge 'basic third sector identity' (Billis 2010b, p. 58). En-

trenched hybridity involves more fundamental change at the governance and operational levels which embed features from other sectors. In these circumstances, the *‘associational principles [of the TSO] have to coexist with alien principles drawn from the private and the public sectors’* (Billis 2010b, p. 60). Hybrids can evolve organically over time in response to changes in the environment or they can be enacted, where they are established as hybrids from day one – social enterprises would be an example of the latter.

Hybridity in the third sector may have a number of potential benefits for TSOs. Smith (2010) suggests that hybridity may help TSOs compete for resources and respond to policy diversity, thus enabling more sustainable and effective organisations which are able to respond to changing environments. However, Smith (2010) also cautions that *“effective governance, oversight and community engagement”* also need to be balanced against the increased complexity and risk associated with hybridity (Smith 2010, p. 227).

Indeed, a number of authors note that ‘tensions’ or ‘conflicts’ may occur between the ‘logics’ of different zones which generate competing values (Buckingham 2010; Smith 2010; Brandsen et al 2005; Chen et al 2013). Evers (2005) gives an example of the potential tension:

The budgeting logic of public financing, the logic of making risky investments and quick management decisions and the logic of participation will always be in a state of tension with each other (Evers 2005, p. 743)

An ‘Institutional Logics’ approach was developed by Friedland and Alford (1991) and is adopted by Skelcher and Smith (2013) in order to develop what they perceive to be the ‘under theorised’ concept of hybridity. Skelcher and Smith (2013) argue that the problem with existing concepts of hybridity is that they typically employ a triad approach defining hybridity in relation to state, market, and civil society (also see above). Empirically, however, argues that some degree of hybridity is typical of all organisations, rendering the concept of institutional logics of less explanatory value.

Skelcher and Smith (2013) define hybridity as *‘a process of contestation and accommodation between institutional logics’* (p. 2), where institutional logics is defined as: *‘the*

organizing principles that provide organisations and individuals with means, motives and identities' (Garrow and Hasenfeld 2012 p. 121). Key assumptions of this approach as adopted by Skelcher and Smith (2013) include:

- Plurality of institutional logics
- Prevailing logics provide actors with constraints and enablements, although do not determine their actions
- Logics are historically contingent, and as such
- They are also emergent, rather than static, which also means that
- The plurality of logics tends to generate contestation (either latently or overtly) over the distribution of power and status.

The concept of 'logics' here has much in common with 'values', in that they are the organising principles which underpin what organisations do and how they do it. However, the use of the term 'logics' lacks recognition of normative aspects associated with the social and interpersonal, whereas 'values' puts normative aspects centre stage. The concept of 'value conflicts' will be introduced in Chapter Four as this forms part of the theoretical framework for the thesis. Skelcher and Smith's (2013) approach is nonetheless useful because it fits well with the underlying assumptions of Critical Realism (as will be discussed later in Chapter Five) since it adopts similar terminology such as 'historically contingent', 'emergent properties', and 'constraints and enablements' which are echoed in Critical Realist approaches. This thesis argues that the concept of values has a greater explanatory power than logics, as it incorporates the personal/affective/ethical stratum of agency which is absent from the more mechanistic implications of 'logics'. Macmillan (2012) suggests that the growth of hybrid organisations has been problematic for the third sector because it challenges the essential identity of the sector. He notes that claims for the distinctiveness of the sector have a strategic purpose in order to differentiate the organisations within the sector from other organisations providing similar services. It is commonplace for those within the sector to define their uniqueness against other sectors and other sections of the sector (also see Osborne et al 2011), as Macmillan (2012) highlights: *"us' and 'them' dynamics are a familiar feature of the sector'* (Macmillan 2012, p. 11).

Macmillan (2012) argues that people attach importance to the idea of a sector and to its boundaries which they uphold and defend and suggests that research should focus more on this aspect of the identity of the sector, in particular on the '*strategic intent, positioning and contested understanding of the sector*' (Macmillan 2012, p.10). This echoes Skelcher and Smith's (2013) notion of hybridity as a '*process of contestation and accommodation*' (Skelcher and Smith p. 2). Skelcher and Smith's (2013) work on organisational 'logics' is useful to this thesis because it recognises the competing organising principles of organisations which can be re-cast in terms of competing values. Macmillan (2012)'s account is useful for its focus on organisational identity in the third sector and both Skelcher and Smith (2013) and Macmillan (2012)'s approaches complement the theoretical framework which is adopted in this thesis. The theoretical framework will be developed in Chapter Four and will draw upon the theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) and Social Identity approaches, which, along with 'value conflicts', will form a richer basis for the understanding of the essential tensions within many modern-day third sector organisations which has been identified in this chapter.

2.5 Conclusions

The main purpose of this chapter was to identify whether the third sector possessed distinctive characteristics and to situate the sector within the historical and political contexts of the UK and Scotland. In this way, this chapter forms the basis from which to understand the situation of employees in the sector and the potential conflicts they face.

In order to achieve this aim, this chapter has examined the third sector within its historical and political context and found that the 'third sector' is a diverse and often fractured sector that performs a variety of social functions across many industries and fields of activities. However, values are an important feature that distinguish the third sector from other sectors, although the sector's increased role in the delivery of public services and the state's encouragement for the sector to adopt features associated with the private sector have resulted in increasing 'blurring of the boundaries' between the state, the market and the third sector.

Understanding the sector conceptually requires more than a framework based on the structural and operational features of organisations or the historical-dynamic contexts, but needs organisational ‘hybridity’ to be considered. Hybridity tends to occur where there is overlap between the public, third and/or private sector identities, with different combinations possible, and while adopting a hybrid identity might benefit third sector organisations by helping them become more sustainable and effective in a changing environment, it also introduces increased ‘tensions’ or ‘conflicts’ between the ‘logics’ of different identities. These ‘logics’ are better interpreted as ‘values’ since a focus on values recognises the normative aspects of organisational identity and the idea of ‘competing values’ forms a central pillar of the theoretical understanding developed in this thesis, which will be examined and developed further in Chapter Four.

Competing values not only present challenges for the sector in terms of presenting itself as unique and distinctive in order to compete for services, but also in terms of how organisations cope internally with the competing values. This thesis will go on to examine just how competing values play out at organisational level within the third sector in Scotland, addressing the following questions:

- How do competing values manifest within organisations and how are they managed?
- How do employees behave in the context of competing values and what is the impact of their own values orientation?

In order to understand how employees might respond to the increasing complexity and challenges presented by increased hybridity, it is crucial to examine who makes up the workforce in the third sector and to identify what, if anything, makes them unique compared to workers in other sectors. These questions are addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: THE THIRD SECTOR WORKFORCE

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the distinctiveness of the third sector and situated the sector within its historical and political contexts. This chapter follows on from the previous chapter by turning the spotlight onto employees who work within the sector – employees who are subject to the contexts identified in the previous chapter.

The primary aim of this chapter is to identify whether employees within the public-service providing third sector have distinctive orientations and values, particularly in the context of increasing tensions between organisational logics (conflicting values). A secondary aim of this chapter is to examine the implications of conflicting values for Human Resource Management (HRM).

Firstly, a brief statistical overview of the workforce identifies distinctive characteristics in terms of make-up, skills, pay and conditions. The second section examines the unique work motivations among third sector employees. In particular, it examines the idea that there is a specific Public Service Motivation, Public Service Ethos, or Voluntary Service Ethos among employees. This section goes on to explore whether work motivations are being eroded because of New Public Management (NPM) techniques, before finally looking at the limitations of the idea of ‘ethos’. The third section puts employee experience in the context of HRM practice in the third sector, examines HRM practice in the sector and suggests that HRM in the context of the third sector is problematic. Finally, the conclusion identifies research questions arising from this chapter.

3.1.1 Overview of the Third Sector Workforce

As the previous review of the historical-political context suggested, over the last two decades the number of people employed in the voluntary sector in the UK has risen dramatically (Kendall 2003). In Scotland, between 1996 and 2005, the percentage growth was 55 per cent, from 40,000 employees to 62,000 (Dacombe and Bach 2009). More recent figures suggest there are around 138,000 people (headcount) or 83,350

full-time equivalent (FTE) workers employed in the sector in 2014 (SCVO 2014), although since the 2007 recession there has been only a slight decrease in numbers because of a fall in the number of FTE posts and an increase in part-time, short-term and lower paid employment (SVCO 2012).

There is evidence that the third sector workforce is distinctive in terms of gender, disability and levels of education from other sectors, particularly the private sector. In 2011, 68 per cent of voluntary sector employees in the UK were female, while 20 per cent were disabled and the workforce was generally older, with 39 per cent aged 50 plus compared to 33 per cent and 28 per cent in the public sector and private sector respectively. The workforce also tends to be highly educated, with 37 per cent having a degree equivalent or above which is higher than in the private sector (21 per cent), but slightly lower than in the public sector (40 per cent). Gross mean weekly pay in the voluntary sector tends to be lower than in either the public or the private sector.

Using data from the Annual Survey of Household Earnings (ASHE), in 2016, gross mean weekly pay in the UK for workers in non-profit bodies and mutual associations was £469 compared to £502 in the private sector and £536 in the public sector which is 7% lower than the private sector and 12% lower than the public sector. The pattern is similar in Scotland, although there was less disparity with the private sector (third sector employees earned on average 3% lower per week) and slightly more disparity with the public sector (14% lower per week). However, overall, weekly mean pay across all sectors was lower than the rest of the UK (£490 in Scotland compared to £502 in the whole of the UK). The pattern is different when considering mean hourly pay where third sector employees in the UK and in Scotland earn more compared to private sector employees (8% more than the private sector employees in the UK as a whole and 10% more than private sector employees in Scotland). However, third sector employees were still paid less than public sector employees per hour (7% less in the UK and 8% less in Scotland). Gross hourly pay was lower for employees in Scotland than in the whole of the UK - £14.85 per hour compared to £15.26 per hour in the UK which is 3% lower across all sectors). See Tables 3.1 & 3.2 below.

Table 3.1: Gross Mean Weekly Pay (£), ASHE 2016

	UK Mean £ per week	Scotland Mean £ per week
Non-profit body or mutual association	468.7	454.7
Public Sector	536.4	531.4
Private Sector	501.8	473.4
All	507.2	489.9

Source: ASHE 2016

Table 3.2: Gross Mean Hourly Pay (£), ASHE 2016

	UK Mean £ per hour	Scotland Mean £ per hour
Non-profit body or mutual association	15.82	15.29
Public Sector	16.99	16.63
Private Sector	14.63	13.90
All	15.26	14.85

Source: ASHE 2016

Third sector employees therefore earn more per hour than employees in the private sector, but less than employees in the public sector. However, weekly pay in the third sector is lower than both other sectors and is probably due to increased part-time working in the sector (as noted above).

While there is good deal of expertise within the third sector, skills shortages and skills gaps were widely reported (pre-recession) (Venter and Sung 2009) in terms of difficulties recruiting for particular skills (Cunningham 2012) and gaps in the skills of existing staff (Venter and Sung 2009). In addition, short-term contracts, lower pay, limited career opportunities and training and development opportunities (Burke 2012) may be linked to high labour turnover relative to the public sector.

This brief overview has identified that the workforce in the third sector appears to be distinctive in terms of its characteristics and while pay tends to be poorer than in other sectors (with the exception of hourly pay compared to the private sector), employees

tend to be relatively well qualified. However, there also appeared to be some issues around recruitment and retention in the sector, at least pre-recession. A statistical overview can only provide very broad indications about the nature of the workforce in the third sector and in order to examine why the workforce appears to be distinctive, we now turn to look at material examining the motivations of employees in the sector to explore whether third sector employees are distinctive in their motivations for employment.

3.2 Motivation and Third Sector Employees

It is important to understand if, and how, the motivation to work is distinctive among employees in the third sector because work orientation may have a key role to play in how employees perceive and respond to value conflicts which have resulted from the issues raised in Chapter Two of this thesis - that is, increased tensions between organisational logics as a result of increasing hybridity, policy changes and economic impacts. To this end, this section considers the role that intrinsic motivational factors play for employees in the third sector.

3.2.1 *Intrinsic Motivation*

Motivation among employees has been characterised as being of two types: intrinsic and extrinsic (e.g. Armstrong 2012). Extrinsic motivation is developed through external incentives such as pay and promotion, or through punishments such as disciplinary action. While intrinsic motivation, however, is generated within an individual, and might include, for instance, a desire to feel that their work is important, interesting or challenging.

Employees in non-profit organisations are often believed to be more motivated by intrinsic factors, such as a desire to serve the public, than extrinsic factors, such as pay (Benz 2005; Lee and Wilkins 2011). As we have seen above (3.1.1) although a high proportion of third sector employees are highly qualified, gross weekly pay is lower than in either the public or the private sector, and terms and conditions are reported to have deteriorated, so are employees in the third sector more motivated by 'intrinsic' motivational factors? The next part examines theories that explain the intrinsic motivation of

employees employed in public services in general, and in the voluntary sector in particular.

3.2.2 Motivation and Ethos

Public Service Motivation (PSM) and Public Service Ethos (PSE) are both concepts that are based on the common idea that some individuals are highly motivated and particularly attracted to public service work (Rayner et al 2010). Perry (1996) and Perry and Wise (1990) developed the concept of Public Service Motivation (PSM) in an attempt to conceptualise the idea that employees in non-profit organisations are more motivated by intrinsic factors and less by extrinsic factors. They define PSM as representing *“an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions”* (Perry 1996, p 5).

PSM has been developed into a conceptual construct which includes four key dimensions including: attraction to public policy making; commitment to public interest/civic duty/social justice; self-sacrifice, and compassion (Perry 1996). Numerous further studies have sought to build on and develop Perry’s concept (for instance, Coursey and Pandey 2007; Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Wright and Pandey 2008) and Moynihan and Pandey’s (2007) review of the supporting evidence for the PSM concept found that *“the bulk of the empirical evidence supports the existence of a public service ethic among public employees”* (Moynihan and Pandey 2007, p. 41)

The concept of PSM plays a role in trying to understand the distinctive orientation of individuals employed in public services but the concept has a number of limitations. The definition of PSM is variable (Schott and Steen 2011; Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005) and although Schott and Steen (2011) identify ‘serving the public good’ as the underlying element of all definitions, some authors go beyond this element to link PSM with values, beliefs and attitudes (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005). However, Schott and Steen (2011) argue that this ‘conceptually blurs’ the distinction between values and PSM.

The concept of PSM was developed in the USA, and Steen (2008) argues that perceptions of public service in the US are more often associated with non-profit organisations than

with government agencies. Therefore, this theory is rooted in a particular social and political environment in relation to the delivery of public services, which is somewhat different to that which occurs in Europe and the UK.

Vandenabeele and Hondeghem (2005) deliberately adopt a broader definition of PSM because they argue that the unique historical and political situations in different countries (the authors use the examples of France and the Netherlands), means the nature of public institutions are not identical and this has implications for what PSM means in different countries. Therefore, in an attempt to make the concept relevant across different contexts, the authors propose an overarching definition of public service motivation, which also covers potentially different 'regime-values'. They adopt the definition of PSM as

The beliefs, the values and the attitudes that go beyond self-interest or organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity, and that induce, through public interaction, motivation for targeted action (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005, p.5)

Vandenabeele and Hondeghem (2005) specifically adopt the terminology of "beliefs, the values and the attitudes" in order to try and cover

As much value-laden behavioural determinants as possible, avoiding to miss out discipline-bound concepts as ethos, ethics, attitudes etc...which all have a value component (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005 footnote 20, p. 5)

In the UK context, the concept of Public Service Ethos (PSE) has more commonly been adopted (Steen and Rutgers 2011; Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005; Rayner et al 2010). PSE has sometimes been used interchangeably with 'public sector ethos' (Brereton and Temple 1999), but with an increasingly mixed economy of welfare, the Public Service Ethos seems more appropriate. Like PSM, PSE is concerned with motivation and attraction to work in public services, but differs in its origins from PSM in that PSM is rooted in individual motivation theory while PSE tends to be associated with Public Management and is also more concerned with wider contextual factors. As such, its focus is not limited to the individual level:

Public service ethos...relates to the character of an organization and espouses aspirational and normative ideologies that are intended to bind and motivate those who belong to such organisations (Rayner et al 2010, p. 31)

Pratchett and Wingfield (1996) represent an early attempt to conceptualise the concept of public service ethos by identifying sets of core values that they argued informed the behaviour of local bureaucrats. These core values included: accountability; honesty and impartiality; serving the community; altruistic motivation, and a sense of loyalty to community, profession and organization.

Cunningham (2011; 2010) has argued that the ethos of employees in the voluntary sector can be distinguished from employees in the public sector and has argued for a distinctive 'Voluntary Service Ethos' (VSE) among employees and organisations in the third sector in the UK. In particular, he identifies prior orientations among employees of: altruism; commitment to a particular group or cause; related political and ideological beliefs, and a desire to care. In support of a distinctive VSE, Cunningham (2011) found that when workers were transferred to other third sector organisations under the Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations 2006 (TUPE) scheme, they largely continued to demonstrate high levels of commitment to the client group and even to the new employers. The VSE has also received some support by Nickson et al (2008) who examined employee commitment in the third sector in Scotland and found that in the face of relatively low levels of pay, employees emphasised their satisfaction with the job and the match between their own values and those of their employers.

However, in general, research examining the VSE concept is limited and it seems likely that the concept suffers from some of the same problems associated with the notion of the Public Service Ethos. The limitations of these concepts will be discussed in depth shortly (3.2.5).

3.2.3 Standards in Public Service

The issue of whether public sector workers and voluntary sector workers have a particular 'ethos' is set aside for a moment, because, on the other side of the coin, certain

orientations are demanded of employees in the public and voluntary sectors. This section examines the expectations placed on employees delivering public services and notes concerns that the adoption of 'business-style' techniques may undermine standards and the ethos of employees.

As a result of New Public Management, increased contracting out and the adoption of market-style mechanisms in public services, there has been concern that potential conflicts of interest between different values may arise which will compromise public service values and, as a result, various safeguards are often put in place to ensure that public values are maintained. For instance, Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008), examining the case in Holland, argue that State ownership was perceived to be the main safeguard for public values, but as the services are franchised out, there are increasingly demands for detailed rules and operational agreements because of concerns over the potential negative impact on public values in privatised sectors.

Various countries now have written statements detailing principles, standards and values that are expected of public service providers. Kernaghan (2003), for instance, examines values statements in public services across Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Canada, while Bozeman (2007) maps out a values framework based on the standards in the US and Van der Wal and van Hout (2009) find a good deal of overlap between the values promoted across different codes and frameworks in different countries. In the UK, the Committee on Standards in Public Life chaired by Lord Nolan produced a report outlining seven principles of public life (Nolan 1995) which include: selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership. Exhibit 3.1 below outlines the seven Principles of Public Life identified by the Nolan Committee.

Exhibit 3.1: The Seven Principles of Public Life (Nolan Committee)

Selflessness

Holders of public office should take decisions solely in terms of the public interest. They should not do so in order to gain financial or other material benefits for themselves, their family, or their friends.

Integrity

Holders of public office should not place themselves under any financial or other obligation to outside individuals or organisations that might influence them in the performance of their official duties,

Objectivity

In carrying out public business, including making public appointments, awarding contracts, or recommending individuals for rewards and benefits, holders of public office should make choices on merit.

Accountability

Holders of public office are accountable for their decisions and actions to the public and must submit themselves to whatever scrutiny is appropriate to their office.

Openness

Holders of public office should be as open as possible about all the decisions and actions that they take. They should give reasons for their decisions and restrict information only when the wider public interest clearly demands.

Honesty

Holders of public office have a duty to declare any private interests relating to their public duties and to take steps to resolve any conflicts arising in the way that protects the public interest.

Leadership

Holders of public office should promote and support these principles by leadership and example

These principles apply to all aspects of public life. The Committee has set them out here for the benefit of all who serve the public in any way.

Source: Nolan, 1995

These standards are at the heart of the public sector in the UK and have also been adopted by the Charities Commission in England and Wales (The Charity Commission 2015) and in the Scottish Government's guidance on governance in statutory bodies (Scottish Government 2017). However, there can be important differences between espoused values and enacted values in practice and while such standards may act as

useful guidelines, they cannot be guaranteed in reality (Schott and Steen 2011). For instance:

Motivation only exists in interaction of individual values and an actual situation that enables a person to realise these values (targeted behaviour) (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005, p. 5)

In other words, values-in-principle do not necessarily translate into values-in-practice, but are contingent upon a specific situation. This idea will be returned to later in Chapter 4 during a more detailed discussion of values.

3.2.4 The Erosion of the Ethos?

A number of authors have been concerned with the question of whether New Public Management (NPM) reforms have eroded the traditional 'public service ethos' (PSE) (Hood 1991; Pollitt 2003). In their research examining Public-Private Partnerships in England, Hebson et al (2003), for instance, found that contractual obligations changed the "*norms of accountability and bureaucratic behaviour among managers*" (Hebson et al 2003, p. 482) and, in particular, the cost cutting and work intensification that came with Public-Private Partnerships had the potential to undermine the PSE over time. However, the authors also found that particular values among workers such as public interest and altruistic motivation remained unchanged and they noted that some workers changed their loyalties away from the employer to 'the service' (colleagues and public service users). For other workers, new codes of loyalty to the private sector employer emerged when positions were up-graded and new training opportunities came about.

Similarly, there are concerns that the Voluntary Service Ethos (VSE) is also under threat because pressures of outsourcing, competition and NPM have '*put considerable strain on the commitment of employees*' (Cunningham 2011, p. 223). However, the concept of VSE is relatively new and further research exploring it is limited.

Another issue highlighted is the potential problem of *'the frustration of the public service ethic'* (Steen and Rutgers 2011, p. 354) and that *'perverse effects...stem from the emphasis on business-like values and market-style reforms introduced in the public sector over the past years'* (Steen and Rutgers 2011, p. 348), particularly the impact of NPM.

Steen and Rutgers (2011) argue that the frustration of the public service ethic occurs when commitment to the public interest conflicts with the organisational focus leading to employees leaving the organisation, engaging in organisational dissent, and/or a decrease in motivation for those left behind. A market-orientated organisational culture may lead to fewer people with PSE seeking to work in an organisation and those employees that do continue may begin to seek more extrinsic rewards. Introducing an extrinsic reward system in response, however, may dislodge any remaining intrinsic motivation leading to the extinction of PSE over time.

Other authors have examined how the concept of public service ethos has changed. Needham (2006) takes up this concern by examining changes to the concept under different political administrations in the UK and she argues that the Conservative Party after 1979 were concerned that a public service ethos fostered inefficiency. Labour, however, promoted a 'customer care' ethos, redefining the *"public service ethos around customer care"* (Needham 2006, p. 857). This change in orientation is linked to the Labour government's promotion of public-private partnerships in service provision and the increasingly mixed economy of welfare providers so that non-public bodies such as private and third sector organisations are also qualified to embody it. Similarly, Brereton and Temple (1999) argue that there has been a shift in the concept from process to end product, so that customer service increasingly becomes a motive for providing services and they suggest that this has resulted in a 'new public service ethos' which has components associated with both the public sector and the private sector. For instance, honesty, impartiality and community service which are associated with public service and competition and consumer choice which are associated with the private sector. Brereton and Temple (1999) suggest that these components can live alongside each other without undue conflict. The previous discussion suggests that this may be optimistic, although exactly how potential value conflicts are managed, and the extent of their impact is not entirely clear. Given the wide variety of different contexts, even if it were

clear what the outcome was in a particular service, this would be unlikely to apply in the same way within other situations, other providers, in different locations, and those providing different services to different groups of clients.

3.2.5 Limitations of the 'Public Service Ethos' concept

Returning to the issue of a public service or voluntary sector 'ethos', a number of authors conclude that there is evidence to support the idea of a universal public sector ethos or motivation (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem, 2005; Rayner et al 2010) but there is more contestation when it comes to defining what a universal ethos or motivation actually is. Rayner et al's (2010) study of subject experts indicates that while almost all of the experts agreed that 'there is a public service ethos', there was much less agreement as to what such an ethos entailed. As Hebson et al's (2003) study of Public-Private Partnerships show, the change in the public sector ethos has been uneven and there are differences in different areas which pose challenges for a *"universal approach to the public sector ethos"* (Hebson et al 2003, p. 485).

This last point also signals that there are many different contexts within which a Public Service Ethos may be manifest - different countries exhibit unique political and social contexts within which different organisations evolve and deliver public services. As we have seen, the concept of PSM is based on the USA model, where this is often identified with non-profit organisations, but in Europe and the UK a more mixed economy of welfare exists with public services being provided by public, private and third sector organisations.

As we saw in the previous section, providers of public services are increasingly varied, *"with many different types of organisations, with quite different subcultures and – probably – values"* (Pollit 2003, p. 139) and increasingly the boundaries between sectors are blurred resulting in hybrid organisations, and meaning that there are an increasingly wide variety of contexts within which a public service ethos might operate.

These limitations are also equally true of the concept of the VSE and so it is not entirely clear what the unique value of a particular VSE would be. It is not clear that the Voluntary Service Ethos orientations (altruism, commitment to a particular group or cause,

related political and ideological beliefs, and a desire to care) which were identified by Cunningham (2010; 2011) are unique to the third sector. Indeed, Needham and Mangan's (2016) study of public service workers considered workers across the public, private and third sectors and they did not find huge differences in workers' notions of the 'public service ethos' (in this instance broadly conceptualised as 'intrinsic motivation to serve the public' (Needham and Mangan 2016, p. 266). The voluntary sector, itself, is particularly diverse and there is as much variety within the sector as between the voluntary sector and the public sector when delivering services to similar client groups.

It is therefore necessary to go beyond these concepts and examine how individual values operate in particular contexts, especially when there is potential for value conflicts to arise from increasingly diverse logics operating within the same organisation. For instance, rather than a focus on a *'general decline of standards, one might say that the spread of NPM values can lead to amplified tensions within new mixtures of values, especially in certain specific contexts'* (Pollitt 2003, p. 140) and there is already some tentative evidence to support this argument. Needham and Mangan (2016) found that around 75 per cent of public service workers from across the private, public and third sectors felt that the public service ethos was changing in the face of shrinking budgets, increased demands and technological changes, with some workers perceiving an increased *'tension between a commitment to publicness and a stronger set of commercial skills within the public sector'* (Needham and Mangan 2016, p. 267). However, there is still relatively limited understanding of how the tension between 'commercialism' and (to use Needham and Mangan's term) 'publicness' manifests at the front line and how front-line workers manage this (and probably other tensions).

This thesis aims to examine some of these potential value conflicts and attempts to shed light on how they are experienced and managed by organisations and individuals. It will specifically explore these issues in relation to the context of third sector public service providers in Scotland. Chapter Four will return to explore how potential value conflicts in this context might be examined.

3.2.6 Summary

In order to explore motivations among third sector employees, this section examined the idea that some employees are intrinsically motivated by 'public service' (whether in the public, third or, potentially, private sector). There have been concerns that New Public Management techniques introduced into public services have eroded the public service ethos echoing wider concerns about safeguarding of standards in public service. This has led to a number of countries producing formal written guidelines detailing the principles, standards and values expected of holders of public office, illustrating the importance placed on particular values in public services and the expectations placed on public service employees. Some studies into the impact of NPM on the PSE argue that the ethos is being eroded because of the perverse effects arising from adopting business-like values and market-style reforms in the public sector while others suggest the nature of the public service ethos itself has changed.

The concepts of Public Service Motivation, Public Service Ethos and Voluntary Service Ethos attempt to capture something distinctive about the work orientations of employees delivering public services. However, the problem with adopting a universal approach to the ethos of employees working in public services is that the nature of actual work orientations is diverse and variable and their complexity and meaning cannot be grasped by reference to a single concept. Increasing hybridisation among organisations, as was noted earlier in this chapter, also poses a challenge for this concept. While acknowledging that there is some value in recognising the distinctive work orientations of employees in public services (and for the purposes of this thesis, particularly in the third sector), it is necessary to go beyond these concepts because a universal concept has limited explanatory value across different and varied contexts. This thesis recognises that the values of employees are variable depending on context and that conflicting values emerging from different organisational logics because of hybridization may present employees with particular challenges, depending on circumstances.

3.3 Human Resource Management in the Third Sector

Human Resource Management (HRM) is the organisational function generally responsible for management of the workforce and this section aims to consider the implications of HRM practice in the third sector for understanding values and value conflicts in third sector organisations and their workforce.

Organisations in the third sector have increasingly adopted HRM practices in response to the changes in their environments. In particular, the changing nature of employment relations in the sector has been linked to the increase in contracting out for public services (Parry and Kelliher 2008; Kellock Hey et al 2001; Cunningham 2012). However, Parry and Kelliher (2008), following Cooke (2004) argue that the increasing contract culture for delivering public services has created a paradox in the sector. While organisations are required to cut costs in order to become more competitive, they also need a high level of commitment, skills and professionalism from paid staff in order to deliver services effectively.

Resource constraints and short-term unpredictable funding have been identified as significant features of the third sector organisations (Cunningham 2012; Kellock Hay et al 2001; Kelliher and Parry 2011) giving rise to limitations in the extent to which pay and training and development can be used as incentives to attract, retain and motivate appropriately skilled staff (Parry and Kelliher 2008). As a result, the limited research that has been carried out on HRM in the third sector has tended to find that organisations who have adopted HRM practices tend to adopt 'soft' HRM approaches², such as communication and involvement measures and flexible working (Parry and Kelliher 2008). Organisations may focus on developing intrinsic motivation such as organisational commitment through focusing on recruiting for and developing attachment and loyalty and

² Legge (2005; 2001) distinguishes between the 'soft' and 'hard' approaches to HRM in the literature. 'Hard' approaches tend to emphasise the 'resource' element of 'human resources' with employees perceived as passive resources to be deployed as required by the business while 'Soft' HRM views employees as valued assets which can be a source of competitive advantage through their commitment and qualities. For instance, 'High Commitment Management' (HCM) is associated with 'soft' HRM, and it attempts to develop and sustain high levels of employee commitment to the organisation underpinned by an assumption that high commitment leads to improved performance.

worker identification with the goals and values of the organisation (Alatrasta and Arrowsmith 2004; Burt and Scholarios 2011).

Recent research has attempted to develop a better understanding of HRM in the third sector by identifying the organisational mix between focus on organisational strategy and human resources in third sector organisations (Ridder and McCandless 2010). Early findings suggest that organisations adopt diverse HRM approaches, with individual organisations developing specific configurations of HRM in order to deal with their particular internal and external challenges (Ridder et al 2012). However, focus on the human resource base, e.g. people, appears to be popular among Ridder et al's (2012) (albeit limited) case studies, with six out of the ten organisations studied displaying the approaches labelled 'Motivational HRM' and 'Values-based HRM' (see Figure 3.1 below).

Figure 3.1: Ridder and McCandless's (2010) Analytical Framework of Human Resource Management in Nonprofit Organisations

HUMAN RESOURCE BASE	High	Motivational HRM	Values-Driven HRM
	Low	Administrative HRM	Strategic HRM
		Low	High
		STRATEGIC ORIENTATION	

Source: Ridder and McCandless 2010, p. 134

Both approaches (Motivational and Values-based HRM) place a strong emphasis on the Human Resource base which is deemed high where organisations place importance on a highly motivated workforce by strengthening intrinsic motivation such as commitment to a cause or group of clients, and on alignment between personal and organisational values. In addition to being high on the Human Resource base, organisations who were

also high on strategic orientation were termed 'Values-driven'. These organisations have a clear strategic orientation towards mission and values and draw on the strengths of their employees to make the most of their distinctive values, as well as investing in employees and integrating a human resource focus into their strategic orientation (Ridder and McCandless 2010).

However, there are significant challenges for HRM in third sector organisations including the on-going (and indeed intensification of) scarcity of resources which mean training and development and career development for third sector staff may be restricted. Neither are third sector workers completely immune to the degradation of extrinsic rewards in the sector and employee commitment can be challenged in the face of cuts to terms and conditions (Cunningham 2012). The increasing pressure of outsourcing, competition and NPM managerialism puts 'considerable strain on the commitment of employees' in the sector (Cunningham and James 2011; Parry and Kelliher 2008) although Alatrasta and Arrowsmith (2004) also found that employee commitment may not be easily manipulated by management, because employees may have multiple 'foci of commitment', such as to the organisation, to clients and to colleagues, which may compete with each other for the employees loyalty. However, these loyalties may potentially conflict. As noted earlier, Hebson et al (2003) found that employee loyalties may then shift from one group to another in response to value conflicts and this also points to the role of social identity processes, whereby employee commitment is, to some extent, shaped by their identification (and dis-identification) with other groups (Social Identity and its relevance will be explored in more detail in Chapter Four).

HRM is also a key feature in a range of practices that are labelled 'New Public Management' which aims to improve efficiency and performance in public services through adopting private sector methods (Pollitt et al 2007). However, NPM has been perceived to be at odds with the values and principles of public service delivery (Hood 1991; Pollit 2003). For instance, as the previous section highlighted, there have been concerns that the 'public service ethos' has been eroded by the introduction of NPM and market-style mechanisms into public services. In the same vein as Pollit (2003), this thesis argues that it might be better to conceptualise the change as the spread of NPM values leading

to amplified tensions because of a new mixture of values. In any case, HRM has limitations that make its application in the third sector (and also within the public sector) problematic, including its approach to ethics and wellbeing, which is now explored.

3.3.1 Human Resource Management, Ethics and Employee wellbeing

While ethics and employee wellbeing may have been marginalised in debates on HRM, Woodall and Winstanley (2001) and Winstanley and Woodall (2000) argue that this was not always the case. Ethics and employee wellbeing, they argue, had a more central role in personnel practice in the past and they cite the formation of the Welfare Workers' Association in 1913 and the social reformers such as Joseph Rowntree who supported Welfare Officers whose role was concerned with employee wellbeing. The human relations movement, consisting of the likes of Mayo, Herzberg and Maslow, was also concerned with the welfare and ethical treatment of workers through a focus on job design and motivation. Fairness in recruitment and career development, discrimination and equality legislation, participation and involvement have also been concerns. Another strand in the literature that Woodall and Winstanley (2001) and Winstanley and Woodall (2000) identify is that of the 'ethical stewardship' role of the HR function, referring to the HR specialist role as a 'guardian of ethics' (also see Van Buren et al 2011). This is evidenced by the HR role in raising awareness of ethical behaviour among line and project managers and overseeing disciplinary and grievance procedures. Even earlier models of HRM, such as those identified by Beer (1984) were concerned with individual and social wellbeing alongside organisational wellbeing.

Woodall and Winstanley (2000) identify some of the reasons for the change in emphasis within personnel practice as including the limits of the global marketplace (also Legge 2000), the changing nature of labour markets and the employment contract, and the concern with HRM and organisational performance and effectiveness. The primacy of the profit motive is also implicated, whereby ethical action will only be pursued if there is a business case for doing so (the 'enlightened self-interest' motive). However, as they point out elsewhere (Woodall and Winstanley 2001), there are many organisations for whom the profit-motive is not the prime concern, including third sector organisations.

HR professionals who act as employer representatives and as employee representatives face challenges presented by their dual role. Van Buren et al (2011) found evidence from a large survey (1372 respondents) of human resource and people management professionals who were members of the Australian Human Resource Institute that there was potential for role conflict related to conflicts of interests between employers and employees:

The paradox for the HRM professional is that in order to strengthen relationships with employees and with managers who have responsibility for business strategies, it has to champion both management and employee priorities and straddle allegiance to both groups (Van Buren et al 2011, p. 217)

The focus on strategy and the unitarist assumption of HRM denies that employers and employees have different interests and goals, not only causing potential role conflict for HR professionals, but also 'to the detriment of employees because ethical issues tend to be side-lined' (Van Buren et al 2011, p. 218).

This lack of concern with ethics and wellbeing is problematic for HRM in the context of organisations delivering public services because it fails to acknowledge the particular standards, values and principles which are expected of public sector workers.

3.3.2 Summary

The limited research that has examined HRM in the third sector suggests that HRM is an increasingly adopted practice but the ability of third sector organisations to offer pay and training and development opportunities is limited because of resource constraints. As such, organisations tend to focus on 'soft' HRM approaches which exploit intrinsic motivation and the values-orientation of employees.

HRM is also problematic in the context of the third sector because it is part of the 'New Public Management' approach which aims to improve efficiency and performance in public services through adopting private sector methods and is potentially at odds with public service delivery.

Another problem with HRM is that issues around ethics and wellbeing have become side-lined. This lack of concern with ethics and wellbeing is problematic for HRM in the context of organisations delivering public services. It fails to acknowledge the particular standards, values and principles which are expected of public officers. As such, HRM is ill-equipped to understand (let alone address) the challenges presented to employees by value conflicts.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to understand if workers employed within the third sector are distinctive from employees in other sectors, particularly in terms of values and ethos. This chapter considered the implications of changing policy and politics on employee values and ethos and examined the problems faced by HRM in addressing the values orientation of employees and potential value conflicts.

This chapter has reviewed the literature on employee motivations, standards expected of employees in public service and HRM practice in the third sector. There is concern that adopting business-like values and market style reforms (including NPM) has eroded a 'public service ethos' among employees, who are perceived to be intrinsically motivated by 'public service'. However, there are problems with the concept of an 'ethos' or particular motivation (either public service ethos, voluntary service ethos or public service motivation) because as a universal concept, 'ethos' is limited in its ability to recognise motivations in the context of increasing organisational 'hybridity'. Examining values and value conflicts offers an alternative approach to recognising employee orientations to work in the third sector.

This chapter also demonstrated that HRM practices are problematic in the context of the third sector because it is part of the cluster of practices associated with NPM; and it side lines ethics and wellbeing. As such, HRM is ill-equipped to recognise and address values and value conflicts which, as this thesis will demonstrate, are crucial to the working lives of employees in the third sector.

This thesis aims to examine values and value conflicts in third sector organisations, particularly focusing on employees, and a number of questions emerge out of the review of literature in this chapter, including:

- What key values are central to third sector employees, and why are they important?
- How far do third sector employees experience value conflicts and what are the sources of value conflicts experienced?
- To what extent are the same values shared by different individual workers and groups in the organisations and do conflicts of values emerge between different groups?
- How do individuals manage value conflicts and what strategies (if any) do they employ to help them cope with value conflicts and maintain a sense motivation in their day-to-day work?

This thesis will examine these questions in relation to the specific context of the third sector delivering public services in Scotland. In order to do thus, the next chapter will develop a theoretical framework in the light of the issues identified here.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Two considered the literature in relation to the third sector, including how the sector is defined and key historical and political contexts within the UK and Scotland. Building on Chapter Two, Chapter Three considered whether employees within the third sector had distinctive values from employees in other sectors, implications of the political context on the values of third sector employees and the limitations of HRM in the sector for addressing values and potential value conflicts.

The objective of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework to explain the role of values in human behaviour within organisations and to better understand value conflicts and how these values conflicts are managed within a public service context, particularly by front-line workers. To this end, two strands are developed. Firstly, a general theoretical framework to explain values and value conflicts in organisations which draws on three distinct conceptual strands: the concept of ‘values’, with particular focus on ‘public values’; Strategic Action Fields; and theories of social identity and personal identity. Each strand will be considered in the light of how it might be usefully applied to the topic; what the strengths and weaknesses of the approach are, and how the approaches may complement each other in order to provide a broader understanding than could be achieved using each one separately. Drawing on each of these three approaches highlights features of the phenomenon that may otherwise go unnoticed.

While the general theoretical framework helps explain values in the context of organisational behaviour, a further strand to the framework is required in order to understand specific behaviour in relation to value conflicts and their management in a public service delivery environment. Existing literature on value conflicts, managing value conflicts and street-level bureaucrats is utilised in order to provide guidance on how public service employees manage conflicts on a day-to-day basis.

This chapter begins by considering values, and especially, ‘public values’. Secondly, the theory of Strategic Action Fields is considered in terms of its potential contribution to

the theoretical framework. Thirdly, approaches to personal and social identity are examined, including social identity approach, implications for change and values, social identity and 'nostalgia' and emergent personal and social identity. Archer's (2000) conception of personal and social identity is considered in some detail and is followed by an examination of the relative roles of reflexivity and habitus in personal and social identity. Together, elements drawn from the review of 'values', Strategic Action Fields and social identity processes form the general theoretical framework for this thesis.

The fifth and final part of this chapter examines the material that potentially contributes to understanding value conflicts and how value conflicts are managed. This part identifies specific value conflicts between private sector values and client-focused values and then draws on theories of managing value conflicts and Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) Street-Level Bureaucrats to construct a list of potential strategies that might be used by front-line workers to manage value conflicts.

Finally, the summary and conclusion draws together the key research questions that emerge from this chapter.

4.2 Values

This section considers values, especially 'public values', and outlines a number of limitations in the current literature on values. It begins with a very brief overview of the academic literature on values before briefly considering the literature on 'human values', including what these are and how they are enacted. The final part of this section examines values in the context of public services.

4.2.1 *The Literature on Values*

Interest in values cuts across many of the 'social' disciplines, including philosophy, sociology, political science, psychology as well as public administration (Van der Wal et al 2008; Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). However, there is little coherence between disciplines (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004) or scholars (Van Der Wal et al 2008) and 'values' are often used loosely to apply to a range of things, such as attitudes, traits, norms, beliefs and needs (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004; Van Der Wal et al 2008), and preferences and inclinations (Sayer

2011) among others. In Sociology, for example, Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) argue that the phrase “norms and values” is used loosely without being adequately defined, yet “norms and values” are linked to important processes mediating agency and structure:

It seems de rigeur in sociological writing to tack on the phrase “norms and values” to explanations of human behaviour to connote the taken-for-granted process through which social structures regulate the actions of individuals (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, p. 359)

This very brief overview of the literature on values indicates that this important concept lacks coherence and is sometimes taken for granted presenting challenges for conducting empirical research into values. Values occur at every level of society, from the individual to the society level, but the concept has not been systematically conceptualised across these different levels. This thesis aims to develop a theoretical framework which incorporates values at multiple levels in society, from individuals to social institutions, but prior to this, first ‘human values’ and then ‘public values’ are considered further.

4.2.2 Human Values

It is possible to identity some key features associated with human values that are embedded in the literature. Cheng and Fleishmann (2010) examined definitions of ‘human values’ from across the social sciences and pulled together a basic and succinct summary:

Values serve as guiding principles of what people consider important in life (Cheng and Fleishmann 2010, p. 2)

This definition captures the basic essence of values as ‘guiding principles’ about what is valuable or important in life and also implies that values are linked to human action and behaviour, since ‘guiding principles’ refer to codes of conduct. The importance of the link to action is made more explicit in some definitions, with Van Der Wal et al (2008) defining values as ‘important qualities and standards that have a certain weight in the choice of action’ (p. 468).

In addition to guiding action, a number of authors indicate that values are important for identity. For instance, Bozeman (2007) argues that values are “part of the individuals’

definition of self" (Bozeman 2007, p. 117) and Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) perceive values to be *'vital for self-definition'*.

Sayer (2011) also sees values as a way in which people judge themselves and others and this moral dimension to values is also emphasised by other authors such as Lasthuizen et al (2011):

Values are principles that carry a certain weight in one's choice of action (what is good to do, or bad to refrain from doing). Norms indicate morally correct behaviour in certain situation. Values and norms guide action and provide a moral basis to justify or evaluate what one does and who one is (Lasthuizen et al 2011, p. 387)

Some authors suggest that people's values are not easily changed, for instance, Braithwaite (1998) argues that people believe that their values are absolute and are reluctant to trade off their values because they are perceived as non-negotiable. However, other authors believe there is more flexibility: Bozeman (2007) perceives that values are difficult, but not impossible, to change and Sayer (2011) suggests that some change in values is possible *"in the light of experience and argument"* (Sayer 2011, p. 28).

The process of enacting values

A number of authors (West and Davis 2011; Sayer 2011) have explored the link between values and action in more depth and argue that abstract values in themselves do not determine action - it is how these are interpreted in the light of actual or concrete situations. For instance, West and Davis (2011) contend that:

Abstract, universal values cannot settle questions about action in concrete situations. Values can only ever be defined when they are wedded to facts and as they come to light in situations (West and Davis, p. 229)

Similarly, Sayer (2011) argues that *"our 'professed values' may...differ from our 'values in use' (Sayer 2011, p. 26)*. These authors argue that values only really take shape when a person is faced with a concrete situation requiring action, until then values tend to be *"free-floating, seemingly arbitrary ideas about what is good and what one ought to do"* (Sayer 2011, p. 28) and it is through a process of 'valuations' that values are enacted and

made real. ‘Valuations’ are specific judgements made in concrete situations and these tend to become habits to which individuals ‘become committed or emotionally attached’ (Sayer 2011, p. 26). Sayer argues that individuals barely notice these ‘habits of thinking’ except when faced with out of the ordinary situations, when they might be prompted to reflect on their abstract values, particularly when situations point to conflicting ‘valuations’.

It is through this latter process of reflection prompted by an out of the ordinary situation or value conflict, that Sayer (2011) argues that values may change in the light of experience. Wider social values also play a part in behaviour, but only insofar as they become meaningful in specific concrete situations. In this way, wider social values mediate experience without determining it. Values are therefore culturally mediated but are also the result of interactions and experiences. This latter point will be returned to later in the chapter when considering reflexivity and habitus.

4.2.3 Public Values

Values are intrinsic to public policy decisions, but the concept of values is contested (Koppenjan et al 2008; Steenhuisen et al 2009, Bozeman 2007; De Graaf and van der Wal 2010). This thesis focuses on ‘Public Values’ (plural) which is not be confused with ‘Public Value’ (singular). The latter has been a popular concept in the policy arena in the UK and “*connotes an active sense of adding value*” (Alfred and O’Flynn 2009, p. 176) not just in terms of quantifiable outputs, but also in terms of broader outputs which are generally less easy to measure, such as social capital (Jordan 2008). There appears to be confusion in some of the literature because while the two concepts are distinct, there is some overlap and some authors have even attempted to integrate the two (West and Davis 2011).

Bozeman (2007) provides a popular definition of ‘public values’:

A society’s “public values” are those providing normative consensus about (a) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (b) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; and (c) the principles on which governments and policies should be based (Bozeman 2007, p. 13)

From this definition, it is clear that “public values” encompasses a number of different elements although this thesis will be primarily concerned with the third component of Bozeman’s definition “(c) *the principles on which governments and policies should be based*”, particularly the principles and values which underpin different governance models. A number of authors argue that introducing private sector values (through New Public Management techniques in public services) introduces more value conflict into public services. For instance, Van der Wal et al (2011) argue that there are competing values in the management of public services where, in some cases, public actors “*have to violate one or more obligations*” (Van der Wal et al 2011, p 332). Van der Wal et al (2011) explain this in terms of the Competing Values Framework. Originally developed in a business organisation context by Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983), the authors adopt this framework to inform debate on public values:

The question of the moral consequences of NPM is often posited but has so far hardly been (empirically) answered....It begs the question of whether governing through the use of business-like practices brings together two fundamentally different practices where the values of one are not appropriate to judge the performance of the other (Van der Wal et al 2011, p. 335)

In the above quote, Van der Wal et al (2011) raise concerns about the conflict of values between ‘business-like practices’ and public values which they argue are fundamentally different. It is an argument which echoes concern that New Public Management is eroding the ‘public service ethos’ as raised in Chapter Three (3.2.4).

However, value conflicts are not restricted to private versus public values but are often inherent between different public values (De Graaf and van der Wal 2010): for instance, different public service models operating concurrently result in what Andersen et al (2012) term “the multi-dimensionality of the public value universe” (p. 715). Vrangbaek (2009) suggests that organisations may incorporate new values (for instance, in response to a change in policy at central or local government level) which, rather than obliterating existing values, may be overlaid onto older values creating a ‘complex value configuration’ (Vrangbaek 2009, p. 512). Similarly, Stewart (2006), developing the work of Rose and Davies (1994), contends that a new government inherits much existing pol-

icy which has been *“hardwired into the institutions of the state, and bearing the ideological imprimatur of its predecessor”* (Stewart 2006, p. 186). This tends to result in *“laying new strata of decisions on top of the old”* which ultimately can result in conflicts between values (Stewart 2006, p. 186). Stewart (2006) refers to this process as hybridization which she defines as a process *“whereby an incoming government inherits the policy choices of its predecessors, and then adds further layers of its own”* (Stewart 2006, p. 188) (Note that, while related, the meaning of hybridity used here is within a different context to that adopted in the previous chapter which refers specifically to organisational forms). Stewart (2006) goes on to argue that while public discourse talks about ‘values pluralism’, in reality, certain values tend to be privileged over others, although these dominant values tend to be invisible and taken-for-granted.

The literature on public values provides us with some insight into the challenges of conflicting values in policy making across public services although it is arguably under-theorised, a weakness that is not uncommon in the field of Public Management from which the concept of ‘public values’ has developed – as Waldo argues, Public Management is: *‘a subject matter in search of a discipline’* (Waldo 1968, cited in Hood 1998, p.4)

It is argued here that the concept of ‘public values’, and ‘values’ more generally, offers significant potential for analysing the conflicts faced by employees and organisations because values have the potential to link across individual and social levels, even if previous work investigating this has been limited. For instance, Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) contend that values occur at multiple levels which can also illuminate the relationship between structure and agency:

Values operate at the level of individuals, institutions, and entire societies... Thus they provide the possibility for drawing links between individual, social structural, and cultural levels of analysis. We point to values as a potentially propitious arena in which to examine the reciprocal influences between social structural positions and individual functioning and decision making (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004 p. 383)

Values embody an idea of what is meaningful to individuals and groups, and are important in people’s conception of their identity (Identity issues are explored in more detail later in this chapter).

This section has considered ‘values’ and particularly, ‘social values’, but, in addition, a more robust theoretical approach is still required that is able to: (a) better conceptualise values at and across different levels and; (b) provide and understand of links to processes. The next sections will consider the potential contributions of a theory of social space (Strategic Action Fields) and of approaches to personal and social identity in order to develop a broader robust theoretical framework.

4.3 The Social Field: Strategic Action Fields

This section outlines the theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) as developed by Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012). This theory has some distinct advantages that are lacking in the current conceptualisation of ‘values’ although the theory of SAFs also has limitations. It is argued here that taking the theory of SAFs and combining it with an understanding of ‘values’ provides a better understanding of both and that this combination of theories has the potential to be of particular relevance to the topic at hand.

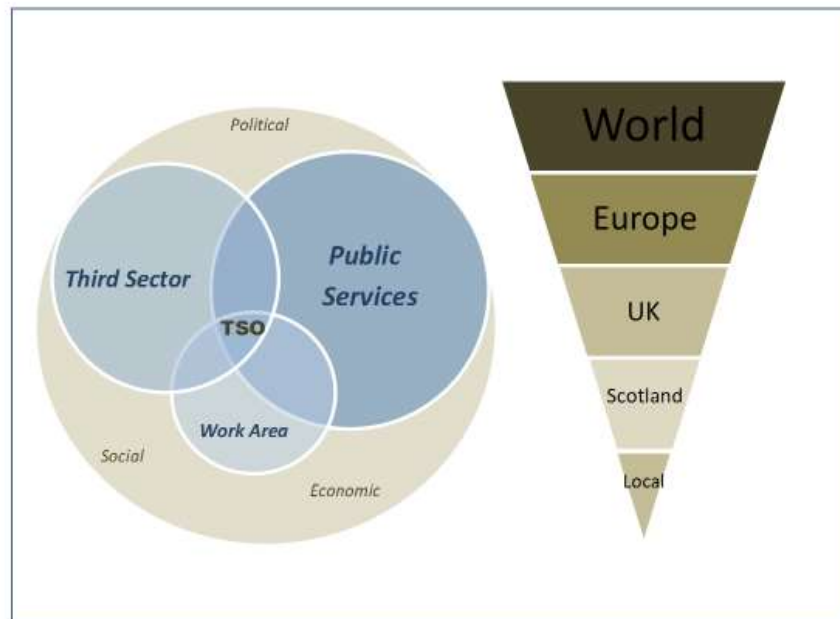
Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012) develop a *“general theory of social change and stability rooted in a view of social life as dominated by a complex web of strategic action fields”* (Fligstein and McAdam 2011 p. 2). They refer to this theory as Strategic Action Fields, and their aim is to provide a general theory which, they argue, fills *“a significant conceptual void in contemporary sociology”* (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, p. 2). Developing the work of social movement studies and organisational theory, Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012) draw upon elements from new institutional theory, Giddens’s theory of ‘structuration’ and Bourdieu’s work on habitus, field and capital in order to develop what the authors argue is a more adequate explanation for understanding structures and sources of stability and change in institutional life.

A SAF is defined as:

A meso-level social order where actors (who can be individual or collective) interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purposes of the field, the relationships in the field (including who has power and why), and the field's rules (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, p. 3)

According to Fligstein and McAdam (2011) SAFs are “the fundamental units of collective action in society” and are made up of collective actors positioned at different levels of society, including for example, organizations, families and government systems, which are, in turn, also made up of SAFs, and interact with the larger political, social or economic fields. Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012) liken this to a Russian doll: “*open up a SAF and it contains a number of other SAFs*” (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, p. 3). Unfortunately, Fligstein and McAdam (2011; 2012) do not provide a diagrammatic figure to illustrate SAFs visually, therefore a visual diagram for a hypothetical third sector organisation was constructed by the author which illustrates the various external SAFs with which an organisation overlaps. Figure 4.1 outlines an overview of the SAF model for a hypothetical third sector organisation in Scotland. An individual TSO may find itself at the intersection of a number of overlapping fields, within each of which they are an actor, and each field shapes the context within which they operate. Note that Figure 4.1 is a very simplified version since, in reality, there are likely to be many more overlapping SAFs. In addition, it was difficult to illustrate all the different geographical levels within which fields exist, and so geographical levels are shown in a side bar to indicate that the SAFs also occur across different geographical levels.

Figure 4.1: Strategic Action Fields Model for a Hypothetical Example of a Third Sector Organisation (TSO) in Scotland



An individual TSO acts within a unique constellation of SAFs. By definition, a TSO is part of the third sector and so interacts with a range of other actors within the broader third sector field, including other third sector organisations, funders, third sector umbrella organisations, local authorities, client representatives etc. The TSOs that are of interest in this study are those that deliver public services and therefore these TSOs are part of a broader public services field which also includes public agencies, government agencies, local authorities, and public sector unions among others. In addition, TSOs operate within a specific ‘work area’ which depends on the type of work and/or the client groups with whom they work. For instance, a third sector organisation providing employability services for vulnerable or disadvantaged people will interact with a range of other actors who have an interest in employability. These would include: educational providers who provide training; government agencies who provide benefits, employability programmes and funding; other private sector providers, and local authorities who provide a range of other benefits as well as funding for third sector programmes. This example illustrates the wide range of actors that potentially inhabit particular fields. Each SAF also operates in relation to other SAFs, so there is overlap between the various fields and actors in one field may also be actors in another field, although actors may have a

different position and roles in different fields. In addition, SAFs occur in geographic areas, so the third sector SAF in Scotland may overlap with the third sector SAF in England, but each has a distinct constellation of actors and relationships. The same applies across different regions within Scotland, especially local authority regions, which have distinct groups of actors. Therefore, the relationships between SAFs, including SAFs across different geographical levels (and different political, social, economic levels) are very intertwined and extremely complex. However, an understanding of SAFs is crucial to be able to conceive of the social spaces where actors interact with each other and wider social structures.

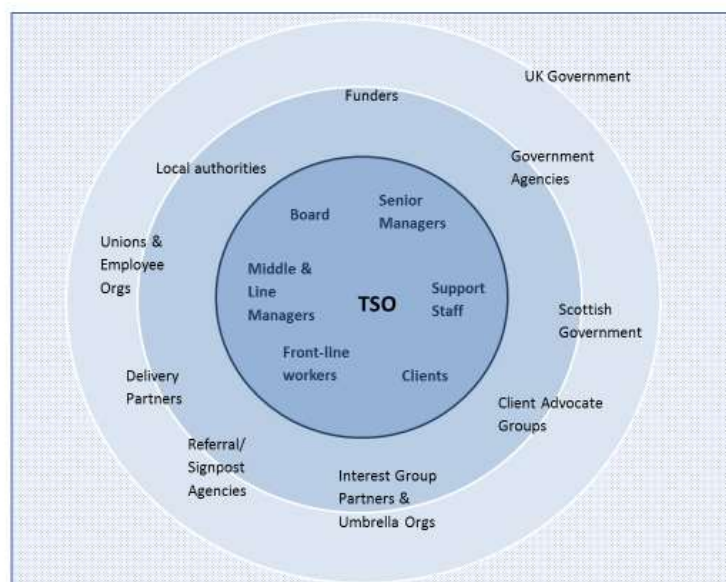
Each individual field has its own set of actors with the ‘incumbents’ dominating, setting and maintaining the ‘rules’ of the field and ‘challengers’ being other actors who may potentially challenge ‘incumbents’ and the dominant ‘rules’ if a field becomes unsettled due to ‘exogenous shocks’ (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Returning to the example of the third sector organisation providing employability services, such an organisation is likely to be a relatively small actor in the wider employability field which might be dominated by large public sector agencies and local authorities who set the agenda for funding priorities, and by large private sector organisations with greater resources and capacity to deliver services. The ‘incumbents’ in this field are likely to be the large public sector agencies, although there will probably be some jostling for position between different public sector agencies. Large private sector providers might be characterised as ‘challengers’ who seek to increase their influence and position in the field, while a small third sector organisation is unlikely to have the power to be either an ‘incumbent’ or a ‘challenger’, but remains a small actor with limited influence.

It is evident from the discussion so far that it is vital to have some conception of social space in a theoretical framework because social spaces are the sites where social interaction occurs, and form the context within which actors operate. Bourdieu’s original work on the social field has inspired a lot of further theoretical and empirical work (Swartz 2008) and it is argued here that the theory of SAFs is one of the most relevant of these theories because it has a number of theoretical strengths including that: it builds on an extensive body of existing theory and research, particularly in relation to the concept of ‘fields’; it provides a general, broad ranging and complex theory which examines dynamic processes; it links multiple levels, except the individual (while the

theory of SAFs defines actors as being either individuals or collectives, the focus of Fligstein and McAdams' work is on the collective level and the individual level is inadequately theorised) between the macro and the micro, and it offers an explanation of stability and change, and an account of conflict and power.

However, one of the limitations of the SAF theory is that although the authors claim it is applicable in a wide range of contexts, including organisational, their theory and examples do not address these (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). An alternative theory of organisational change is New Institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1991) which postulates that organisations tend towards homogenisation because of institutional isomorphic pressures. However, New Institutional theory tends to focus on organizational similarities, rather than differences and conflict (Beckert 2010) and SAF theory is preferred here because it is a more dynamic and sophisticated theory which better accounts for conflict and power. The work of Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) is useful here because they develop Bourdieu's original concept to include organisations-as-fields. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) conceive of social fields as both horizontal (across fields) and vertical (within a field), thereby opening up the potential suggested by Fligstein and McAdam's analogy of the Russian doll. Figure 4.2 attempts to illustrate a hypothetical third sector organisation-as-a-field within broader fields.

Figure 4.2: Theoretical Example of a Third Sector Organisation (TSO) -as-a-field across different geographical levels



The central circle enclosed by a black solid line represents an individual third sector organisation (TSO). Within a TSO there are a range of actors who occupy different roles and different positions in the hierarchy with some who are 'incumbents' and some potential 'challengers'. The figure does not make clear hierarchical distinctions (or who are 'incumbents') between groups because hierarchies vary between different organisations, but, as an approximation, groups that tend to be more powerful are placed nearer the top of the Figure. The second blue circle encircling the TSO represents the local level at which there are a range of actors from different fields (such as public services, the third sector or the area of work) who interact with groups within the TSO. The third blue circle represents the level of country (e.g. Scotland) and outwith this the UK. Clearly, further levels also exist beyond the UK, such as the European Union, but these have been excluded in order to keep the figure as simple as possible.

While the breadth and scope of SAF theory can be an advantage in terms of examining different levels, this is also a potential source of weakness because it is not clear how effective the theory will be for explaining micro-processes, without having to develop additional theory in order to explain specific circumstances. Here, it is proposed that the theory can be usefully employed in conjunction with other more specific theories, which will be developed later in this chapter.

The theory of SAFs conceptualises fields as consisting of incumbents and challengers. Incumbents are the actors who dominate and control a particular field (setting and maintaining the 'rules of the game' in their favour) while challengers are those who hold less power and control within a field. When fields become unsettled due to 'exogenous shocks' (generally coming from other linked fields), there is jockeying for position between incumbents and challengers in order to re-define the rules of the field and power relations. However, Fligstein and McAdam's account of incumbents and challengers has been criticised for being too stark, with rather more fluctuation occurring between actors in the field (Macmillan et al 2013).

An advantage of SAF theory, when used in conjunction with the idea of organisations-as-fields (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008 and elements of Bourdieu's original work), is that it has been successfully applied in the context of the third sector within the UK (Macmillan et al 2013). Macmillan et al (2013) carried out longitudinal case studies in 15 third

sector organisations over a period of three years in which third sector organisations are conceptualised as both fields-in-themselves and as operating in fields. MacMillan et al's (2013) research found that:

A picture is emerging here of the third sector fields as a complex web of different organizational groupings with vested interests and particular values and rules structured in various hierarchical relationships to one another mediated by umbrella organisations and the state (MacMillan et al 2013, p. 7)

By conceptualising third sector organisations as organisations-as-fields in themselves within wider SAFs, Macmillan et al (2013) are able to recognise that various different social groups within organisations exist who have their own 'vested interests and particular values and rules'. These different organisational groups exist hierarchically in relationship to one another, but also have connections to SAFs external to the organisation such as umbrella organisations (various interest groups, professional groups etc.) and state institutions. In response to changing social and economic policy, MacMillan et al (2013) found that third sector organisations adopted a number of different strategies in order to survive within a field. MacMillan et al (2013) identified three key survival strategies that TSOs adopted in response to public sector funding cuts including restructuring and redundancy, merger and acquisition, and repositioning/branding, but these strategies do not necessarily help organisations deal the value conflicts, and indeed, the strategies may actually create conflicts. However, MacMillan et al (2013) note that the strategies employed in order to survive within a field also changed '*the structure of relationships and positions in an organisation as a field*' (MacMillan et al 2013, p. 20, emphasis in original). They therefore concluded that third sector organisations can be viewed as SAFs 'in their own right (and sometimes comprising separate internal sub-fields)' (MacMillan et al 2013, p. 17) and, at the same time, third sector organisations participate in a range of 'nested' SAFs.

SAF theory focuses on processes, for instance, how SAFs are formed, how they are maintained and what happens in a crisis. While this is very useful, it neglects normative aspects of human behaviour, in particular the role of values and how individuals and groups make sense of their experiences. In particular, the theory does not include an account of values, although this is implied in Fligstein and McAdam's definition of fields

which refers to the “*set of common understandings about the purposes of the field*” (Fligstein and McAdam’s 2011, p. 3) (albeit contested at certain times) that pertain within fields. Therefore, there is a need for a much more robust understanding of values within SAFs and, to this end, this thesis argues that what Fligstein and McAdam refer to as “*set of common understandings about the purposes of the field*”, should be reframed in terms of ‘the understandings of value principles underlying the purposes of the field, in the sense that the purposes of a field will be based on certain values (along with norms, rules etc.).

Sayer (2005) explicitly addresses the issue of the role of values in struggles within social fields, which he argues are not just about maintaining or promoting interests and power, but are also struggles over values. Sayer (2005) employs the distinctions of use-values and exchange-values as well as internal and external goods to distinguish between different types of values. Things that are of use-value are those that have intrinsic value in themselves, whereas exchange-value refers to the external value placed on a use-value. Use- and exchange-value are generally associated with material items, whereas internal and external goods encompass a wider range of goods; internal goods might include, for example, skilled work and other activities, such as sports, academic study which require learning and the development of skills. Individuals may value internal goods in and of themselves, but these may also bring them external goods such as prestige and money. Sayer argues that, along with struggles over power and interests:

Struggles of the social field...are also about seeking use-values and internal goods and pursuing commitments for their own sake (Sayer 2013, p. 134)

This point will be returned to later in the chapter when considering Sayer’s modified habitus in the form of ethical dispositions and moral commitments.

There may be other advantages to placing values in the context of SAFs including that SAFs potentially provide a more coherent framework for understanding how values operate and link to different social fields and levels, as well as helping to explain changes and stability in values in different social fields and levels. SAFs may also help to understand the role of power in the use of values in contested SAFs.

However, a limitation of the SAF theory is that it does not attempt to conceptualise the individual level adequately because the basic make-up of a SAF is at least two or more actors and so is focused on the social relations between individuals not individuals as separate entities (Fligstein and McAdam 2011). In order to adequately understand the individual level, other theories are required to compliment the SAF approach and, to this end, approaches to identity are now considered.

4.4 Approaches to Personal and Social Identity

This section considers some of the theoretical approaches to Personal and Social Identity. It begins with a brief consideration of the historical roots of these concepts within social science which is followed by an examination of Social Identity Theory and some of its limitations. Some further developments in Social Identity Theory are then considered in relation to change, values and emergent identities. Another development in conceptualising Personal and Social Identity has been proposed by Margaret Archer and this section considers the strengths and weaknesses of Archer's conceptualisation. The section concludes that while there are many strengths in Archer's approach, including an account of reflexivity, her conception lacks consideration of the role of habitus and, in order to correct this omission, the potential contribution of Sayer's work, which modifies the concept of habitus in order to develop the idea of ethical dispositions, is examined.

4.4.1 Social Identity Approaches

The distinction between personal identity and social identity within social science has its origins in the work of William James and George Herbert Mead (Jenkins 1996; Deschamps and Devos 1998). Writing in the 1890s, James came up with the concepts of the 'I' and the 'me' and the idea of these being dual aspects of the self and in the 1930s, Mead developed the idea of the relationship between the 'I' and the 'me', where the self is composed of both a social component (the 'me') and a more personal component (the 'I'). These two dimensions represent the dualism between the individual and society, although Mead did not view these as polar opposites but as '*intrinsically interactional*' and

Emerging out of the reciprocal relationship between the individual dialogue in the mind between 'I' and 'me', on the one hand, and the individual's dialogue with others during interaction, on the other (Jenkins 1996, p. 64)

These early distinctions have since been developed and form the basis for later work known as the Social Identity Approach (Haslam 2001). The concepts of Personal Identity and Society Identity are central to a Social Identity Approach. A brief overview of the two theories that combined form a Social Identity Approach is provided before examining these concepts in more detail.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was originally developed by the social psychologist, Henri Tajfel (1978) and was further developed and later supplemented by the self-categorisation theory (SCT) associated with John Turner (1987). SIT examines how *"individuals seek to differentiate their own groups positively from others to achieve a positive social identity"* (Turner et al, 1987, p. 42) while self-categorisation theory is focused on *"how individuals are able to act as a group at all"* (Turner et al 1987, p. 42). In other words, SIT examines how individuals identify themselves in terms of social groups while SCT examines the social categorization process in terms of the cognitive processes of group behaviour. Taken together, these two theories are often referred to the Social Identity approach (Haslam 2001; Jenkins 1996).

According to SIT, individuals belong to social groups or categories which provide their self-definition (e.g. female, middle-class etc.) and this is done through a process of comparison between the in-group and the out-group (the groups to which individuals belong and do not belong) in order to provide a positive self-conception and self-identity and to reduce uncertainty about how to behave. The in-group provides the basis for self-regulation by the individual through describing and prescribing how they should think, feel and behave (Hogg and Terry 2001; Tajfel 1978). Advocates of SCT further argue that members of social groups become seen as "prototypes" and this leads to individuals being depersonalised because the self is transformed cognitively so that it becomes assimilated to the in-group prototype thereby bringing self-perception and behaviour in line with the group, sometimes at the expense of self-interest (Turner et al 1987). Similarities within the in-group and differences with the out-group tend to be exaggerated and this produces, for instance, ethnocentrism, stereotyping and normative behaviour

as well as positive in-group attitudes, cohesion, co-operation, and altruism (Turner et al 1987).

Turner et al (1987) identify three levels of self-categorisation which define an individuals 'human', 'social' and 'personal' identity. These include: (1) the self as a human being; (2) in-group and out-group categorisation that define an individual as a member of particular social groups but not others, such as 'British', 'middle-class', 'female', 'Asian' etc.; (3) personal self-categorisation that differentiates the self as a 'unique individual' from other in-group members. The super-ordinate level of 'self as a human being' is generally ignored by SCT theorists, and there is antagonism between the other two levels, with one generally being more salient than the other (Deschamps and Devos 1998). Personal and social identity operate as opposite sides of two poles, with social identity dependent on the feeling of similarity to others and personal identity dependent on feeling of difference from the same others. In other words, personal identity is inter-personal and dependent on the differentiation between self and others, whilst social identity is based on intergroup behaviour and the differentiation between groups, between 'we' and 'them'. There is, therefore, conflict between the individual and social level and when social identity is more salient, personal identity becomes less important and vice versa (Deschamps and Devos 1998).

However, the role of values is underdeveloped in SIT and SCT, although Turner et al (1987) recognise the importance of values in social identity and categorization processes, claiming that the most *'powerful single determinant of attraction yet identified'* is that of *"perceived similarity of others to self in terms of attitudes, values, goals, experiences and explicit group membership"* (Turner et al 1987, p. 59). Such reference to values is not uncommon, for instance, Turner et al (1987) refers to values as one of the determinants of group cohesiveness (p. 23) and, along with social norms, as prescribing group beliefs, attitudes and conduct (p. 19). However, values and their role are not defined or developed in any further detail.

The conceptualisation of Personal Identity and Social Identity as polar opposites is also problematic because, as Deschamps and Devos (1998) point out, the idea that the in-group is perceived in terms of similarity and the out-group in terms of difference does not hold true, since more differences may be apparent within in-groups. In other words,

a strong Personal Identity may also be accompanied by a strong Social Identity. Another criticism that has been raised is that there is no conception of how identification emerges through interaction, with most of the processes taking place 'inside people's heads' (Jenkins 1996, p. 115). Generally, the concept of Personal Identity is particularly underdeveloped and, being based on interpersonal relations, appears to be wholly socially formed.

4.4.2 Social Identity and Change

Hogg and Terry (2001) develop a more dynamic conceptualisation of change in Social Identity by using Turner's idea of 'prototypes' to argue that prototypes are '*context dependent and are particularly influenced by which outgroup is contextually salient*' (Hogg and Terry 2001, p. 5). Changes to Social Identity will therefore take place if there are changes in the comparison outgroup, for instance, if a voluntary organisation begins to compare itself to a private organisation rather than other voluntary organisations. Hogg and Terry (2001) also argue that in addition to meeting the need for positive self-esteem, social identity behaviour is also motivated by the 'uncertainty reduction hypothesis' which is where membership of a group reduces the uncertainty for an individual by providing prototypes which describe and proscribe particular feelings, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours which reduce subjective uncertainty.

Because prototypes are relatively consensual, they also furnish moral support and consensual validation for one's self-concept and attendant cognitions and behaviours (Hogg and Terry 2001, p.6)

In times of great uncertainty and change, Hogg and Terry (2001) argue that groups with a strong social identity and cohesiveness will become more attractive because they offer simple and clear prototypes.

4.4.3 SIT and Values

While values are acknowledged in SIT and SCT, their role is generally underdeveloped with the exception of Bar-Tel (1998) who has made attempts to incorporate values, in the form of 'group beliefs' into a Social Identity approach. Tajfel's (1978) minimal group studies show that the act of putting people into random groups is enough for them to develop a sense that 'we are a group' but Bar-Tel (1998) argues that it is group beliefs

that strengthen and maintain group identity as well as provide meaning to its shared reality. In some instances, groups are formed based on common beliefs, such as political parties, religious groups and voluntary organisations while in other cases, group beliefs may develop after group formation, in the early stages of development of the group. Either way, group beliefs play a crucial role in maintaining group stability and when group beliefs are undermined, there may be significant consequences for the group.

Bar-Tel (1998) identifies four categories of group beliefs including group norms, group values, group goals and group ideology (These categories were not intended to be exhaustive of all possibilities for group beliefs, but serve to illustrate some of the key categories). Clearly, these varying kinds of beliefs are intertwined, with Bar-Tel acknowledging that group norms and goals are often based on values. By his account, ideology is essentially a more integrated system of values, norms and goals, being *“an integrated set of beliefs, constituting a programme, a theory of cause and effects, and premises on the nature of humanity and societal order”* (Bar-Tel 1998, p. 99).

The role of group beliefs is to define the uniqueness of the in-group and differentiate it from out-groups and, in so doing, group beliefs provide identity to group members, define group cohesion, describe and prescribe ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. At the level of ideology, group beliefs provide a way of positioning and explaining ends and means of organised social actions, for instance through images of the desired society. Bar-Tel (1998) argues that there tends to be a high level of confidence in group beliefs as facts and truths in order for these to function effectively as defining the group, but that the centrality of group beliefs varies depending on the type of group (for some groups they are more defining than others), and some beliefs may be more central to the group than others, in that they become prototypical. Beliefs that become more central (i.e. become basic group beliefs) do so because they are more important in terms of differentiating the in-group from out-groups, demarcating boundaries and providing significant information about the group. In addition, beliefs that help achieve group goals, raise self-esteem, and strengthen feelings of security are likely to become more salient. Leaders also play a crucial role in defining group belief through providing their support to particular ones.

Bar-Tel's (1998) account demonstrates that an understanding of group beliefs is important for understanding group behaviour. His account helps to fill a gap in theorising values within a social identity approach and has the potential to illuminate behaviour among a wide variety of groups. However, there have been few empirical studies that have applied Bar-Tel's approach and so the application of the theory is relatively untested. Bar-Tel (2011) himself applied his own theory to examine the processes operating at the level of national conflicts but applications of the theory in other contexts, including the third sector, have been limited.

In addition, another limitation of Bar-Tel's theory is that there is limited discussion of how group beliefs change or of the role of group beliefs in group dissolution. Bar-Tel (1998) states that group members tend to collect information which validates group beliefs and so beliefs are not easily changed. However, it can be observed that over time there can be significant changes in group beliefs (for instance, beliefs of political parties). Bar-Tel (1998) suggests that some groups actively maintain group beliefs through their repetition, for instance through cultural and educational mechanisms, and that there will be negative consequences for the group if beliefs are undermined. However, he does not elaborate on the circumstances or what the negative consequences for the group would be.

Bar-Tel (1998) also argues that group beliefs exist in the minds of individuals, and not as a property of groups, thereby hinting at the link between personal and social identity. However, this is not elaborated in any detail.

4.4.4 'Nostalgia' and Social Identity

A further aspect of identity to consider is the role of 'nostalgia' and this is briefly considered here for two reasons: (1) the methodology used for the research is the case study method (see Chapter Five for further details) which is carried out over a short period of time and, in this study, relies on participants accounts of past events that may be subject to (among other things) 'nostalgic' filtering; and (2) the 'nostalgic' filtering in itself may be of interest in what it reveals about an individual's identity processes.

Researchers have noted a marked distinction between longer serving staff and newer staff within organisations in terms of attitudes to the organisation which has been

framed in terms of 'nostalgia' (Gabriel 1993; Strangleman 2012; McDonald et al 2006). Nostalgia has been defined as:

A yearning for the past, a sense of loss in the face of change (Bonnett 2010, p.5)

According to Gabriel (1993) nostalgia 'is a state arising out of present conditions as much as out of the past itself' (Gabriel 1993, p. 121) and actually helps individuals adapt to organisational change because it serves to increase an individual's sense of self-worth by referencing 'earlier glories and grandeurs' (p. 131) when individuals are actually powerless to address their sense of loss. However, this nostalgia is more than just a yearning for an 'idealised' past that aids psychological adaptation as suggested by Gabriel (1993) but may also represent a 'real' loss. For instance, Strangleman's (2012) study of railway workers and McDonald et al's (2006) study of hospital doctors in the NHS during a process of 'modernisation', both argue that nostalgia can reflect a real worsening of working conditions. Strangleman (2012) in particular makes mention of the increasing marginalisation of older workers because their 'values [are] being rendered residual' (p. 422):

What the older generation of workers were reflecting on then was the erosion of a set of values and norms which had helped to humanise work, and had helped them build and sustain a working life both individually and collectively (Strangleman 2012, p. 423).

Strangleman (2012) and McDonald et al (2006), both argue that work identities are challenged in the process of change programmes in the railways and the NHS. In the NHS, changes to 'cherished identities' were resisted by hospital staff (McDonald et al 2006, p. 1098), and among railway workers (where the change happened much earlier). Strangleman (2012) found that definitions of a 'real' worker had subtly shifted between different generations of workers. As Strangleman (2012) also indicates, newer workers were 'less embedded' (in the workplace) because they did not share the same memories and experiences as longer-serving workers.

Nostalgic filtering of past experiences by individuals and groups in organisations may therefore play an important role in identity, particularly for older or longer-serving workers and these processes of nostalgia point to how identities and values may change within an organisation over time as newer staff replace longer-serving and/or older staff.

4.4.5 Emergent Personal and Social Identity

Influenced by SIT and SCT (among others), Jenkins (1996) develops a social identity approach to the question of personal and social identity. The influence of SIT is apparent in his definition of the self as:

An individual's reflexive sense of her or his own particular identity, constituted vis-à-vis others in terms of similarity and difference, without which she or he wouldn't know who they are and hence wouldn't be able to act (Jenkins 2006, p. 49)

This quote indicates that Jenkins views the self as constituted through others and he explicitly states this elsewhere: *'All human identities are...social identities'* (Jenkins 1996, p. 17). Jenkins (1996) treats the process of collective identity and individual identity as analogous in that they are produced and reproduced in a similar way and he argues that this is because collective and individual identity are routinely entangled with each other and that they only come into being through interaction. Personal Identity and Social Identity are therefore inter-related and mutually influential in a process Jenkins refers to as the 'internal-external dialectic' of identification. This is also an idea supported by Archer (2000):

Both personal and social identities are emergent and distinct, although they contributed to each other's emergence and distinctiveness (Archer 2000, p. 288)

However, while Jenkins is right to assert the inter-relationship of personal and social identities and their emergence, his argument that all human identities are ultimately social and that they are produced by analogous processes is problematic. For instance, Jenkins has been criticised by Vogler (cited in Jenkins 1996, p. 52) for placing greater emphasis on the external social dimension than on the individual dimension, as well as for neglecting the role of the unconscious and emotions in the formation of identity. Jenkins' retort to the first point is that his intention is to avoid favouring either the social

or the individual although (as demonstrated in the previous paragraph) he does appear to favour the social. In addition, Jenkins' argument that collective identity and individual identity are produced and reproduced through analogous processes ignores the distinct nature of each and the fact that social groups and individuals have different properties and powers. In not making individual identity distinct from social identity he may be open to the criticism of central conflation which is where two concepts are conflated with each other, so that they become indistinguishable (see Archer 2000). In response to Vogler's criticism regarding the unconscious and emotions, Jenkins (1996) argues that the unconscious cannot be shown to exist and is therefore epistemologically and ontologically problematic and while Jenkins claims that he does address the question of emotions, this aspect is arguably underdeveloped in his work.

Margaret Archer (2000) has, however, incorporated the role of emotions as central to the formation of identity, and her work on personal and social identity is now considered.

4.4.6 Archer's conception of Personal and Social Identity

In line with the seminal work of Nussbaum (2001), Archer (2000) argues that emotions are a key part of the rich inner life of human beings which generates personal identity:

The importance of the emotions is central to the things we care about and to the act of caring itself (Archer 2000, p. 194)

Archer (2000) argues that emotions are 'essential emergent properties' emphasising the primacy of practice, where practical action is required for the articulation of identity. Emotions emerge in relation to the different orders of reality – the natural, the practical, and the social and these orders require different kinds of knowledge and practice, although they may overlap. Emotions provide for adjustments to the environment and Archer distinguishes between the emergence of (first-order) emotions and the second-order prioritization of emotions. Second-order prioritisation of emotions involves the capacity to reflect on the first-order emergent feelings and this reflection is required because first-order emotional commentaries from the three orders may be contradictory so each individual has to work this out for themselves. The balance that individuals strike between these concerns gives them their identity as particular persons.

It is our own definitions of what constitutes our self-worth that determines which normative evaluations matter enough for us to be emotional about them (Archer 2000, p. 219)

Personal Identity, Archer (2000) argues, emerges from the second-order process of re-ordering emotional priorities and involves both cognitive and evaluative reflection in what she calls the 'morphogenesis' of second-order emotions. The 'morphogenesis' of second-order emotions takes place as an internal dialogue which is a dialectic between human concerns and emotional commentaries with unavoidable concerns including: physical well-being in relationship to the environment; performative achievement in relation to practical work, and self-worth, which relates to occupying a position of some kind within society. Individuals decide how much they are concerned with various aspects of these concerns and these decisions are shaped by the situations in which an individual human being finds themselves since situations supply constraints or enablements in relation to the subjects' projects.

For Archer, Personal Identity is distinct from Social Identity because self-identity does not necessarily depend on social relations (as distinct from Jenkins' (1996) conception, for instance). She argues that the human being is logically and ontologically prior to the social being (i.e. that personal identity comes before social identity) However, it is argued here that the human being cannot be prior to the social being since the act of being born is necessarily social where the human being and the social being occur simultaneously. While it is argued here that the human being and the social being occur at the same time, this does not entail that they are the same (i.e. they are not conflated) and Archer is correct to assert that they are analytically distinct, although in practice intertwined.

In terms of social identity, Archer (2000) proposes three phases in its development which include primary agency, corporate agency and social actors. Primary agency is the involuntary agency within which human beings (as children) find themselves as a result of pre-existing structures and circumstances that they are born into. This differentiates human beings and the conditions that individuals think of as possible, attainable and desirable and the 'me' is situated in a particular historical and social context. Primary agents lack any say in shaping social structures or culture, but as corporate agents

they can act together with others strategically to shape the contexts for all agents. Here Archer introduces the idea of the 'we' that is the corporate agent which can engage in collective action, resulting in the creation of new social roles.

Social actors are role incumbents. Roles have emergent properties that cannot be reduced to their occupants because roles pre-exist the individual incumbent and endure over time, despite changes in their holders. Becoming a social actor involves choosing to identify the self with a particular role and actively personifying that role in a particular way. This conception is similar to Jenkins' (1996) distinction between 'nominal identity' and 'virtual identity'. As he explains:

It is possible for individuals to share the same nominal identity, and for that to mean very different things to them in practice, to have different consequences for their lives, for them to 'do' or 'be' it differently (Jenkins 1996, p. 44)

The interests which individuals possess as agents serve to shape their choices of what are considered reasonable role positions, and the kind of agents that individuals start out as has a significant influence on the type of actors they become, shaping their life chances in terms of constraints and enablements and potentially resulting in a more limited choice of roles. This process does not determine the outcome for actors, but it does provide conditions within which they make these choices (Archer 2000).

Archer (2000) argues that the full range of personal powers consists of development of self, agent, actor and then the particular personification of a role. Human beings carry out the "ongoing reflexive monitoring of both self and society" (Archer 2000, p. 295) and creative personification can subtly change roles. This involves monitoring the fit between our concerns and whether we are doing them justice in an attempt to keep the personal and social identities in alignment. However, problems may arise if there is a change in the role and the person in that role feels that it is no longer compatible with their social identity. In this instance, their personal identity can no longer be expressed through their social identity.

Archer develops the work begun in *Being Human* (2000) in a later book, *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation* (2003) which develops the idea of the concerns

that human individuals themselves reflexively consider. She uses the term '*modus vivendi*' to describe:

A set of practices which, in combination, both respects that which is ineluctable but also privileges that which matters most to the person concerned (Archer 2003, p. 149)

Based on a small scale in-depth exploratory study with 20 interviewees, Archer (2003) investigates this further and examines the different kinds of reflexive practice adopted by individuals in order to pursue their *modus vivendi*. She finds that practices may fail to be successful, however, both because of the fallibility of knowledge regarding ourselves (in relation to the three orders of reality) and/or because of our circumstances.

Archer's work on identity and, in particular, reflexivity has opened the doors to further research in this area as well as much debate (e.g. Archer 2010). Some have argued that there is too much emphasis on reflexivity when in reality many actions are not based on deliberation (Sayer 2010). For instance, Archer is silent on the role of the unconscious and explicitly rejects the related idea of habit or habitus (Archer 2010; 2012). In reclaiming the role of agency in human action, it could be argued that she goes too far in the opposite direction in seeing personal identity as too autonomous in relation to social relations.

Unfortunately, there has been relatively little empirical testing of Archer's theories and Archer herself focuses mostly on applying her theories to social class (Archer 2007, Archer 2010). However, Archer's work represents a significant contribution to advancing a theoretical understanding of identity and the role of reflexivity within a Critical Realist framework. In particular, she provides a theoretical link between individual and structures by using the concept of personal and social identity, as well as taking account of circumstances through which reflexivity is exercised.

Her ideas regarding personification of social roles by social actors and how individuals develop and pursue concerns and their own particular *modus vivendi* offer the potential to use the notions of personal and social identity in an organisational context. However, while her theory of concerns and *modus vivendi* has strong implications for values, these are never explicitly addressed. Archer focuses on individual concerns that are relatively

broad ranging, from physical well-being to practical accomplishment and self-esteem in the social realm but the specific role of values and how they are entwined with these 'concerns' is not developed.

4.4.7 Reflexivity and Habitus

Archer (2003) defines reflexivity as an individual's personal capacity to deliberate about him/herself in relation to his/her circumstances in order to plan his/her future actions (p. 10). Reflexivity is an important concept in social theory, and especially for Critical Realists, with Archer (2003) placing human reflexivity at the centre of the process of mediation between structure and agency. For Archer, the 'internal conversation' is the process by which *'agents respond to social forms'*. She considers this internal conversation to be *"an irreducible personal property, which is real and causally influential"* and she considers that individuals can reflect on their circumstances and a social world that *'has different properties and powers'* from themselves and reflexively monitor themselves in relation to individual circumstances (Archer 2003, p. 16). While supporting the idea that individuals have agency, Archer concedes that this does not necessarily imply that individuals' 'self-knowledge' or 'societal-knowledge' are correct (Archer 2003, p.14), but these forms of knowledge can be fallible.

While Archer (2000; 2012) acknowledges that the 'internal conversation' is not isolated from the social, she rejects a central role for 'habit' or 'routine action' in people's responses (Fleetwood 2008) arguing that the concerns of individuals shape individuals' projects which requires interaction with structures and which in turn result in particular practices (Archer 2003, p. 133). However, she has been criticised for an inability to fully account for the effects of structures on agents (Fleetwood 2008). Like a number of other authors (e.g. Adams 2006; Embirbayer and Johnson 2008; Elder-Vass 2010; Sayer 2010), Fleetwood (2008) supports a key role for reflexivity in the actions of agents, but also argues that on some occasions actions are guided by habit and institutional rules:

Some agents' intentions are non-deliberative, and the best explanation we have for such intentions is that they are rooted in habit, which in turn is rooted in institutional rules (Fleetwood 2008, p. 198)

The concept of habitus was developed by the French Sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, in order to transcend the structure-agency dichotomy (Maton 2012) and the concept refers to individuals' semi-conscious dispositions and non-reflective socialization that guides behaviour (Archer 2012; Bourdieu cited in Elder-Vass 2010, p. 99). Habitus is a property of actors at the level of individual, group and institutions and results in durable tendencies or dispositions over time that can be transposed into different fields of social action (Maton 2012). Disposition is a key element in the concept of habitus, and is explained by Bourdieu:

[Disposition] expresses first the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially for the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination (Bourdieu cited in Maton 2012, p. 50)

The success of the concept of habitus in forming the linking mechanism between structure and agency has been challenged by a number of authors, Archer in particular, arguing that Bourdieu actually succumbs to the problem of central conflation (Layder 2005, p. 259). However, the concept of habitus remains a popular, if sometimes misunderstood concept (Maton 2012). Another criticism of the concept of habitus is that it was more applicable to an earlier era when there was less change in societies. With the advent of modernity and continuous technological innovation, societies are constantly changing requiring a greater level of reflexivity among actors (Jenkins 1996, Maton 2012; Archer 2010). However, this criticism does not mean that habitus is no longer relevant (Fleetwood 2008, see quote above), and with modifications, it has been applied in different contexts (Sayer 2009) sometimes in conjunction with the concept of reflexivity (e.g. Mrozowicki 2010; Porpora and Shumar 2010).

Sayer's modified habitus: ethical dispositions and moral commitments

Sayer (2005) acknowledges that there are a number of problems with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, in particular that its influence is exaggerated. However, Sayer seeks to retain the concept rather than reject it because *"no other sociological concept can help us understand the embodied character of dispositions, their generative power and their*

relation to the wider social field” (Sayer 2005, p. 50). Sayer modifies the notion of habitus in a number of ways to develop a theory of ethical dispositions in order to understand people’s normative concerns in relation to class.

While Bourdieu draws attention to some activities of the subconscious in the concept of habitus, he largely ignores the role of emotions but, in contrast, Sayer (2005), drawing on Nussbaum (2001), views emotions as crucial and argues that they are cognitive, evaluative and essential elements of intelligence. While individuals’ emotional commentaries are fallible, in that they can be mistaken about something, they should still be taken seriously because emotions *“are highly discriminating evaluative commentaries on our well-being or ill-being in the physical world...in our practical dealings with the world...and in the social-psychological world”* (Sayer 2005, p. 36). Perhaps not surprisingly given their Critical Realist positions, Sayer’s account closely resembles Margaret Archer’s account of emotions with both authors agreeing that emotions are related to things that people care about and emerge in relation to something, in particular, in relation to three orders of reality (Archer refers to these as natural, practical and social – see above). Archer (2003) distinguishes between first order emotional emergence and the second-order process of re-ordering emotional priorities based on cognitive and evaluative reflection out of which individual concerns are developed while Sayer (2005) also argues that individuals develop commitments that are central to their well-being and identity. However, whereas Archer views concerns as developing after conscious reflection, Sayer suggests that although some commitments may be conscious to an individual, others may not, because they have become habituated. This idea of commitments being subconscious is also supported by McDonough (2006) and Hebson et al (2015). McDonough argues for the existence of a ‘public service habitus’ among public service workers in Canada, which she explains as the internalised dispositions and expectations of a particular notion of the public good. Hebson et al (2015) also found that habitus emphasised the meaningfulness of caring work among social care workers and was important in maintaining worker job satisfaction in circumstances where pay and conditions of employment were poor.

Sayer (2012) goes on to argue that these ethical dispositions (which are part of an individual's habitus) can produce emotions in particular circumstances and that these internalised norms are only semi-conscious but can become conscious and change through reflection. Sayer (2005; 2012) focuses on the moral and ethical dimensions of individuals' commitments and, in doing so, he distinguishes the way in which things are valued, such as the distinction between use-value and exchange value and internal and external goods which was outlined above (4.3). What individuals come to evaluate as important (through a process involving habitus and reflexivity) become their commitments and as with Archer's concerns, Sayer sees commitments as central to individuals: *"Commitments come to constitute our character, identity and conception of ourselves"* (Sayer 2012, p. 125). Whereas Archer emphasises the role of reflexivity in individuals' life projects (Archer 2000; 2003), Sayer (2005; 2012) perceives a more balanced role between the influence of reflexivity and habitus and focuses more specifically on what individuals value as principles, not just as projects. A lack or loss of commitments has serious consequences involving feelings of rootlessness and isolation (Sayer 2012) and being able to pursue one's commitments is essential to one's flourishing:

There is no clear distinction between our own flourishing and that of our commitments; they are fused (Sayer 2012, p. 125)

To sum up, an ethical and moral dimension is crucial to individuals' commitments and, in turn, individuals' commitments are central to personal identity, therefore values matter to people and have a central role in guiding behaviour. But what happens when values conflict? The next sections turn to more specific literature that shed light on managing value conflicts in the context of public services.

4.5 Understanding and Managing Value Conflicts

The chapter thus far has pulled together three conceptual approaches (values, particularly public values, Strategic Action Fields, and Social Identity approaches) in order to provide the theoretical foundation and broad theoretical framework for understanding values and human behaviour in general and in a way that is considered particularly useful for potentially capturing the operation of conflicts over values between groups at organisational levels. However, the theoretical framework does not provide much in

the way of domain-specific theory (see 5.5) in order to understand how individuals providing public services experience and manage conflicts on a day-to-day basis.

Returning to the literature review in Chapter Three (sections 3.2.2, 3.2.5 and 3.2.6), it seems clear that workers in public service organisations are likely to experience some form of value conflicts although the actual nature and forms of conflicts experienced is less clear. In order to provide a guide for further inquiry into value conflicts, the first part of this section will examine specific value conflicts that might be experienced by front-line workers in third sector organisations in Scotland. This section then turns to the strategies that front-line workers might adopt in order to manage value conflicts which they experience and examines two distinct strands of literature: a small body of literature specifically examining the strategies used within public service organisations for dealing with multiple and conflicting values, and a larger body of work around Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) concept of 'street-level bureaucrats' (SLBs), which, while not specifically addressing value conflicts, does contribute to understanding responses by front-line workers. These literatures will be examined in turn to assess their potential contribution to providing more specific guidance, in the form of domain-specific theory, on how the FLWs in the current thesis might experience and manage value conflicts.

4.5.1 Client Focus Group vs. Private Sector Values

The literature review in Chapter Three and earlier in this chapter (4.2.2) identified some potential value conflicts that are experienced by third sector organisations in the forms of the tensions between 'public sector' values and 'private sector' values as a result of New Public Management (NPM) techniques (e.g. Hood 1991). There have also been increasing pressures on organisations to take on features associated with other sectors (hybridity) leading to competing 'organisational logics' (Kendall and Knapp 2005; Skelcher and Smith 2013). Austerity has resulted in reduced pay and conditions within the third sector (Cunningham 2015) and potentially exacerbates existing value conflicts. At the level of individual workers within the third sector, previous literature examined in Chapter Three indicates that workers may have an orientation (or ethos) towards working that includes: altruism; commitment to a particular cause, political and ideology beliefs, and a desire to care (Cunningham 2010; 2011). Research has shown high levels of commitment to client groups or users among third sector workers (Cunningham

2011), although in the context of austerity policies, staff were frustrated when limited resources challenged 'person-centred' care (Cunningham et al 2014). As austerity policies reinforce trends towards NPM including cost-cutting (Cunningham and James 2014), the frustration of the commitment to clients may be further challenged by tightening resources.

However, it is not clear exactly what 'commitment to clients' and 'person-centred' care mean among workers in the third sector since these concepts are rarely developed in the literature. The concept of 'person-centred' (or similarly 'client-centred') care is not unique to the third sector (e.g. Innes et al 2006; Needham 2006) and indeed notions of 'patient', 'client' or 'person-centred' care are rooted in the health and social care literature, particularly around older people (Nolan et al 2004) and underpinned in policy within the NHS in such documents as The National Health Service Framework for Older People (DoH 2001) and Dignity in Care Campaign (DoH 2006) (both cited in McCormack and McCance 2011). Innes et al (2006) and Nolan et al (2004) argue that while person-centred care is a frequently used concept in the literature on health and social care, definitions of the concept are elusive and lack consistency. Nevertheless, the individual (patient/client/user) is generally at the heart of definitions (e.g. Innes et al 2006, p. 6; McCormack and McCance 2011; Nolan et al 2004). Beresford et al (2011) examined how 'person-centred' support was defined among users, practitioners and managers of social care and found a high degree of consensus around the concept as an 'approach' rather than a 'technique' of delivering support and that it *'was strongly values-based and where the relationship between service user and worker was of central importance'* (Beresford et al 2011, p. 355). The 'person-centred' approach involved such things as the importance of listening to service users; being positive and flexible; treating people as individuals, and ensuring them choice and control.

In this study of front-line workers in the third sector, one would therefore expect that some front-line workers would be orientated towards a 'person-' or 'client-centred' approach which prioritises individual clients and that such a 'person-' or 'client-centred' approach may be implicated in value conflicts experienced by front-line workers if, and when, limited resources restrict the ability of front-line workers to help individual clients. This research study aims to investigate the extent to which 'person-' or 'client-

centred' approach is a common value among front-line workers and what impact a 'client-centred' approach has on experiences of value conflicts. Note that, henceforth, various terms are used to refer to the 'person-' or 'client-centred' approach, most commonly 'client-focused' approach, which was a common term used by workers within the case study organisations who took part in the research, and that no conceptual distinctions are made between the different terms. Similarly, no significant distinctions are made between terms including 'private-sector values', 'business-orientated values', or 'business-focused values' because these terms were often conflated by interviewees and reflected a general orientation, rather than a specific position based on consideration of the various terms.

4.5.2 Managing Value Conflicts

A small number of authors have attempted to identify strategies that may be used in order to deal with multiple and conflicting values, for instance, Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008) examined how Dutch Railways coped with value conflicts without making trade-offs. They concluded that what previously had been perceived as deviations from values and objectives ('shirking' behaviour) could actually be viewed as a means of coping with values plurality:

Deviations are not necessarily evidence of shirking, but could be the result of an agent coping with multiple and sometimes competing value (Steenhuisen and van Eeten 2008, p. 147)

Building on the work of Thacher and Rein (2004) and Stewart (2006), Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008) further develop a typology of coping behaviour to include the strategies of cycling, firewalls, casuistry, hybridization, incrementalism, and bias. Table 4.1 (below) gives a brief explanation of each of these coping behaviours. The strategies are examined further below in 4.3 'Discussion of Strategies'.

However, there are a number of limitations with the account of strategies for managing value conflicts proposed by Thacher and Rein (2004); Stewart (2006); Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008) including that the research tends to be limited to small sample sizes and does not consider the role of personal or organisational values in the decision pro-

cess or, indeed, the personal impacts on personnel faced with such decisions. The coping behaviours outlined by Thacher and Rein (2004); Stewart (2006); Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008) and summarised in Table 4.1 also largely relate to the organisational or extra-organisational levels (although which specific level is not specified) and do not address how individual employees might experience or respond to conflicts while performing their roles. However, some of the strategies identified might potentially be used by organisations, for instance, encouraging the use of discretion by workers in non-standard cases (casuistry) or promoting particular values among staff (bias) and these strategies are considered in more depth in 'Discussion of Strategies' later in this section. While the literature on managing multiple and conflicting values has little to say about how individual workers manage value conflicts, there is nevertheless a recognition of the importance of the interaction between institutions and employees (referred to as 'policy actors') as this quote by Thacher and Rein (2004) demonstrates:

Institutions shape the justifications available to policy actors...policy actors typically have significant discretion to adapt schemas and resources to particular contexts. In exercising this discretion, policy actors may transform institutions as they enact them (Thacher and Rein 2004, p. 461-462)

The role of public service employees and how they manage conflicts is developed within an alternative strand of literature which is now considered.

Table 4.1: Strategies for Managing Value Conflicts (General)

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION
Cycling	This involves temporarily limiting the values that are considered important, so that attention can be focused on each value separately. One value is emphasized until other values become too pressing to ignore. Thacher and Rein (2004) use the example of the value of order versus the value of liberty within policing. Community relations (representing liberty) are not compatible with aggressive policing tactics (order), so when community relations become too tense because of police tactics, values will shift towards liberty and developing community relations, but when crime levels increase, values may shift back again to maintaining order using more strident policing tactics.
Firewalls	This involves separating responsibility for different values between specialised institutions. Each value then has a 'vigorous champion' (Thacher and Rein 2004, p. 463). Value conflicts are reduced because each institution is focused on a specific value and is relatively insulated from the others. For instance, this might be in the form of different policy agencies focusing on specific policy areas, or, within organisations, by having different departments.
Casuistry	Procedures may be in place to help policy actors decide how general cases should be handled. However, discretion is encouraged in out-of-the ordinary cases with judgements made on a case-by-case basis in order to respond to specific contexts. Thacher and Rein (2004) state this resembles 'due process' in contemporary jurisprudence by 'drawing analogies with established legal precedents' (Thacher and Rein 2004, p. 477)
Hybridization	This is not so much a strategy for dealing with value conflicts as an observation of how some policy fields or organisations and agencies operate. Proposed by Stewart (2006) who observed that in some policy fields policies with different value bases co-existed. This seemed to be the result of the need to meet 'an all-embracing rhetoric' (Stewart 2006, p. 188) and/or policy inheritance. However, usually little guidance is offered on how to deal with conflict at a practical level and values can co-exist uncomfortably with one another. For instance, Steenhuisen and Eaton (2008) found generational differences in prioritising of values among train conductors.
Incrementalism	Stewart (2006) proposes that one way to avoid significant values conflicts but also to respond to the need for perceived need for change in the short-term, is to adopt an approach of small, stepped changes. These aim to address immediate problems and reduce potential opposition. However, even small incremental changes may face resistance.
Bias	Alternative values are excluded in order to reduce value conflicts. Steenhuisen and Eaton (2008) argue that organisations can deliberately promote particular values among staff by selectively providing information. Values become internalised as part of the 'culture of practice' (Steenhuisen and Eaton 2008, p. 151) For instance, they use the example of providing transport controllers with information on punctuality which they strive to meet through cutting a train service. Information on passenger numbers is not provided, therefore routine practices develop around trains rather than passengers. However, staff may become wedded to certain values making it difficult to adjust priorities over time.

Sources: Thacher and Rein (2004); Stewart (2006); Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008)

Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) seminal study provides a detailed account of how discretion is exercised by front-line public service workers in providing public services and shows that the exercise of discretion is a key factor in determining the operation of public policy. In particular, Lipsky (2010 [1980]) identifies a number of strategies that are employed by front-line workers when they use their discretion to make policy decisions in their interactions with citizens. He calls these front-line workers 'Street-level bureaucrats' (SLBs) in order to emphasise their active role in the policy process at the 'street' level. Lipsky (2010 [1980]) does not specifically address the idea of multiple or conflicting values as prompting particular responses from SLBs, but values are nevertheless strongly implicated. For instance, he identifies a number of conditions which are prevalent in the context of the work of SLBs such as services being generally 'chronically' under-resourced relative to the work that workers are expected to do; ever-increasing demand for services; difficulty in measuring performance of goal achievement, and he also notes that the goals of organisations and agencies where SLBs work 'tend to be ambiguous, vague, or conflicting' (Lipsky 2010, p. 28). In particular, he notes a key tension for SLBs between the expectation that public service agencies will treat all people the same (fairness and equity), while in reality SLBs realise that treating all people alike is actually unfair, because of different levels of need. Lipsky (2010 [1980]) also notes tensions between other public service objectives: for instance, being client-centred and being able to respond flexibly to clients creates tensions with other public service objectives such as those of efficiency and cost effectiveness and regularity and accountability.

In order to manage these tensions, Lipsky (2010 [1980]) identified a range of strategies used by SLBs. These include both practical and psychological strategies (some of which correspond to strategies noted by Thacher and Rein (2004), Stewart (2006) and Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008)). Table 4.2a (below) summarises the Practical Strategies and Practices used by SLBs proposed by Lipsky (2010 [1980]) while Summary Table 4.2b (below) summarises the Psychological Strategies and Practices used by SLBs proposed by Lipsky (2010 [1980]).

Table 4.2a: *Practical Strategies and Practices used by SLBs proposed by Lipsky (2010 [1980]): Summary*

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION	LEVEL
<i>Routines & Simplifications</i>	These may be established in order to make tasks more manageable. For instance, standardising the decision processes at organisational level and creating eligibility criteria which determines who is able to access the service.	Organisation
<i>Stockpiling</i>	In order to reserve capacity for times of heavy demand some workers may try to secure protected time that can be deployed when necessary, 'cushioning the day work' (p. 126). For instance, this might mean delaying an appointment in order to complete paperwork from the last one, thus freeing up time to meet an unexpected surge in demand later.	Individual
<i>Work expands to fill the time available</i>	There is no incentive to complete tasks quickly because this will simply result in more tasks and a heavier workload. This is also a way of conserving energy for unpredictable demand. This 'slack time' if available may include catching up on paperwork, preparing assignments or simply resting in preparation for later busyness. (p. 126-7)	Individual
<i>Special Units and Procedures</i>	At organisational level, special units and procedures may be established in order to deal with irregular processing issues, thereby freeing up staff.	Organisation
<i>Deferring Decisions</i>	SLB may be able to defer making immediate decisions in front of clients in order to avoid dealing with client reactions, particularly those where clients are disappointed or aggrieved. Clients could be contacted later with the decision.	Individual/ Organisation
<i>Transferring responsibilities downwards or onwards</i>	This is where responsibilities for decision-making are transferred to other public sector workers, either within the same organisation or on to others in other organisations. For instance, allowing other lower-level functions, such as administrators, to exercise discretion. Referrals can be used to refer a client to another public service, thereby maintaining the client in the system but deferring providing the service.	Individual/ Organisation
<i>'Pressure specialists'</i>	Maintaining routines can be difficult in the face of client dissent or non-compliance and in order to free up the SLB from dealing with time consuming exceptions, organisations and agencies may establish a staff member or unit to deal with difficult or problem cases.	Organisation
<i>Emergencies</i>	Special procedures may be in place to deal with particular situations defined as emergencies to ensure they are dealt with as a priority. This permits selective allocation of resources to be deployed without interrupting regular services, enabling services to deal with some of the negative implications of routinization of services.	Organisation

Source: adapted from Lipsky (2010 [1980])

Table 4.2b: *Psychological Strategies and Practices used by SLBs proposed by Lipsky (2010 [1980]): Summary*

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION	LEVEL
<i>Withdrawal</i>	Withdrawal may be physical, involving quitting the job. Withdrawal may also be psychological where an individual withdraws responsibility for their own performance. This latter form of withdrawal may result in absenteeism, high turnover, slowdown and withdrawal of involvement.	Individual
<i>Private Goal Definitions</i>	There may be competing expectations of SLB that derive from a variety of sources: the general public; peer groups (professional associations and co-workers); and clients. In order to make the job more manageable, SLBs may simplify the concept of their job by favouring one particular aspect of the job, for instance, classroom teachers may be orientated towards classroom control or cogitative development (or other aspects). This makes it more likely that SLBs are able to maintain a sense of achievement in their job when faced with multiple and sometimes conflicting expectations. Agencies themselves may impose their own orientations by specifying favoured goals.	Individual/ Organisation
<i>Specialisation</i>	Taking on a specialised role can relieve the strain of maintaining multiple and conflicting work pressures.	Individual/ Organisation
<i>Ideology and milieu</i>	Occupational or professional ideology can set goal orientations in the face of competing goals. This can result in clearer objectives and less conflict experienced by SLBs.	Extra-organisational (group)
<i>Defences against Discretion</i>	Some SLBs can limit their responsibility by strictly adhering to proscribed rules and denying they have any discretion in the matter. Agencies can produce extensive rules and procedures that can reduce tensions, but Lipsky argues that this can result in workers pursuing the means instead of the ends, so that the rules are followed without reference to achieving the end purpose of the service.	Individual/ Group
<i>Defences against Bureaucracy</i>	Other SLBs adopt the opposite position to the above and resist attempts to reduce their discretion because they prefer to focus on providing a good service for some clients rather than inadequate service for all clients.	Individual/ Group
<i>Modifying their conception of clients</i>	Since most SLBs cannot offer a quality service to all potential clients, they may adopt strategies of preferring some clients over others. This enables them to rationalise the allocation of scarce resources and enables them to maintain a sense of achievement in their jobs. SLBs may be more responsive to clients who are co-operative and helpful and that they feel they can help. SLBs may also reduce their own sense of responsibility by blaming the clients' situation on either the client themselves or the wider environment. This helps SLB deal with inevitable failures.	Individual/ Group

Source: adapted from Lipsky (2010 [1980])

Lipsky's work is not without criticism and since it was originally published in 1980, the context of public service provision has changed profoundly (Aiken and Bode 2009; Evans and Harris 2006; Sager et al 2014; Taylor and Kelly 2006) although a number of authors have defended Lipsky's account arguing that it remains relevant despite requiring greater contextualisation (Ellis 2011; Evans and Harris 2006; Hupe and Buffat 2014). It could also be argued that there is a false distinction made between psychological and practical strategies that in reality are intertwined, for instance, 'private goal definitions' which is classed as a psychological strategy to prioritise among competing expectations, may result in the adopting of specific practical strategies, such as the choice of particular tasks to transfer to other workers (transferring responsibilities downwards or onwards). There are also issues around the way in which Lipsky conceptualises the relationships between front-line line workers and other actors, such as managers, professional organisations and clients, for instance, the relationship with managers is conceived of as fundamentally conflictual and the role of professional status is largely overlooked (Ellis 2011; Evans 2011; Taylor and Kelly 2006). However, Lipsky's account of practices and strategies remain pertinent and will help inform a basic framework for understanding how workers in the third sector manage multiple and conflicting values in this study

Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) build on Lipsky's work drawing together research on front-line workers in law enforcement, teaching and rehabilitation. In particular, they identify a distinction between two distinct approaches (they refer to as narratives) adopted by front-line workers including the state-agent and the agent-citizen narratives. The state-agent narrative focuses on how street level workers apply "laws, rules and procedures to the cases they handle" (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003, p. 9) while the agent-citizen narrative focuses on the judgements made by street level bureaucrats about the moral character and identity of the people (e.g. clients) they encounter. These concepts suggest clear implications for the role of values in the decision-making of front-line workers, with agent-citizen approach aligning with a focus on clients and a state-agent approach prioritizing bureaucratic practices. This relates to a fundamental tension in public service provision identified by Lipsky (2010 [1980]) between treating clients equally or fairly; between being client-centred and efficiency, cost effectiveness,

and regularity and accountability which was earlier identified as the value conflict between ‘client-focused’ values and ‘private sector’ values (4.5.1). Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) argue that front-line workers tend to be orientated in one direction or the other, because it is difficult to maintain a balance between the two. While this thesis does not adopt the ‘narrative’ approach of Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003), their account is useful because it highlights two fundamentally opposing approaches taken by street level workers which have implications for understanding the values and identity of street level workers.

Discussion of the Strategies proposed in the Literature concerning Conflicting Values and Street-Level Bureaucrats

The literature on conflicting values (Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006; Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008)) and SLBs (Lipsky 2010; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003) offers indications of how value conflicts may be managed at different levels. The focus of this study is on value conflicts within organisations so the particular relevance of some of the strategies for the present study are now considered.

Table 4.1 [Strategies for Managing Value Conflicts] identifies a number of organisational and extra-organisational strategies for managing value conflicts but some of these are more relevant to the study at hand than others, for instance, the strategy of ‘cycling’ is undoubtedly a significant feature of policy but since ‘cycling’ between different policy priorities more obviously occurs at a broader policy or agency level and over the longer term it is outwith the scope of this research. Similarly, ‘firewalls’ occur at the organisational and extra-organisational level and fall outside of this study’s parameters. ‘Firewalls’ have been proposed as a strategy for coping at the extra-organisational and organisational level (Thacher and Rein 2004) and Lipsky (2010 [1980]) also identifies strategies akin to firewalls at the organisational level in terms of ‘pressure specialists’ who are staff members or units set up within organisations and assigned to deal with special cases, thereby separating functions from each other. ‘Specialisation’ is also a strategy that can be adopted by individuals in order to reduce the strain of multiple and conflicting work pressures, although the availability of these specialist roles that individuals can assume will be determined by the organisation or agency. ‘Specialisation’ seems more likely to occur in larger organisations with scope for more specialised functions and may

not emerge during relatively small case studies within smaller or medium sized organisations (which is the case for this research project).

Stewart (2006) notes the strategy of hybridization where in some policy fields different value bases co-existed. However, hybridization here appears to be more of an observation of the behaviour of policy fields rather than a deliberate strategy, and the literature considered in Chapter Two (2.4) on organisational hybridization is much better developed for the purposes in this thesis.

Thacher and Rein's (2004) account of 'casuistry', which refers to having procedures for general cases and using discretion for dealing with out-of-the ordinary cases, can be recast in terms of the balance between standardisation and discretion. Casuistry strategies are also indicated by Lipsky (2010 [1980]) in the form of what he refers to as 'routines and simplifications' which are established at organisational level to standardise practices. In addition, Lipsky (2010 [1980]) identifies the opposing strategies of defending the use of discretion ('defences against bureaucracy') or strict adherence to rules ('defences against discretion') which represent the tension between standardisation and discretion at the individual and/or group level. The fieldwork for this research project will investigate the implications of standardisation and discretion for managing value conflicts.

Steenhuisen and Eaton's (2008) account of 'bias' is focused on organisations who deliberately make information selectively available to staff in order to exclude alternative values, so that values eventually become internalized as part of the 'culture of practice'. However, bias can also occur through the selective attention given to information provided and is not limited to the organisational level. Notions of 'bias' may have implications for Lipsky's (2010) account of 'private goal definitions' and 'modifying their conception of clients'. For instance, organisations may play a role in orientating staff towards particular goal definitions and/or conceptions of clients through the culture that is promoted throughout the organisation (e.g. strategic plans may represent a formal mechanism). Organisational influence might even be embodied in some of the guidelines that standardise practices and procedures which staff are required to adhere to. However, groups and individuals are likely to have their own bias and may not simply

accept the organisational bias as suggested by Steenhuisen and Eaton (2008). Potentially, bias may manifest in ways not considered in the literature, for instance, if SLBs are capable of modifying their conceptions of clients, then it follows that they may be capable of modifying their conceptions of other aspects of a role, such as expectations of managers or perceptions of what can realistically be achieved in these modifications to conceptions might help manage conflicts which workers have little practical control over. Therefore, the level of discretion that staff have available may be crucial to the extent to which they are able to control, interpret and act on conflicts that emerge in the course of their work.

Lipsky (2010 [1980]) proposes a number of practical strategies that may be employed by organisations, groups or individuals in order to cope with the challenges of the work (Table 4.2a). Many practical strategies may be applicable in particular contexts, although some of the practices may be at too great a level of detail to be picked up in the case study research (particularly practices such as stockpiling, work expanding to fill the time available, which would require close monitoring of work processes over a period of time) and this research does not propose to examine practices in depth because this would require prolonged observation and is not the primary focus.

Given the theoretical framework developed earlier in this chapter, there is a greater emphasis in this research on the psychological strategies and practices used by individuals in order to manage value conflicts and therefore Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) accounts of psychological strategies used by individuals and/or groups are of key importance. Earlier in this section, Lipsky's strategies of defending the use of discretion ('defences against bureaucracy') or strict adherence to rules ('defences against discretion') were recast as the tension between standardisation and discretion and Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) account of 'private goal definitions' and 'modifying their conception of clients' were discussed as instances of 'bias'. In addition, 'private goal definitions' could be re-cast as a means of prioritising tasks in the context of multiple and competing priorities, so that certain tasks are given priority over others. The orientation of workers towards either bureaucratic process (state-agent) or towards clients (agent-citizen) may also be a factor in workers' priorities (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2003), but, since the focus of this study is on value conflicts, 'client-focused' values versus 'private sector' values is considered a more

fitting way to reframe worker orientations. Withdrawal is another psychological strategy identified by Lipsky (2010 [1980]) and refers to either physical withdrawal in the form of quitting a job or psychological withdrawal in the form of withdrawing commitment or responsibility to a job.

Psychological and practical strategies may sometimes occur hand-in-hand and it is important to adopt a holistic perspective to capture multiple dimensions. In addition, the strategies adopted by organisations are crucial in terms of enabling or inhibiting individuals to manage value conflicts, and the balance between standardisation and discretion is likely to be key to organisational strategies and may have profound implications for individuals.

While the literature on managing multiple and conflict values and SLBs provides some indications of how organisations and front-line workers manage value conflicts, there is generally a low level of existing knowledge about how front-line workers, in particular, manage value conflicts and therefore it is anticipated that strategies not previously considered by the literature may emerge as relevant in the course of the research process. However, drawing on the knowledge that is available, some of the factors that are considered during the case study fieldwork for this research study are summarised in Table 4.3 (below): Note that for the purposes here, the term ‘front-line workers’ is preferred over SLBs because the latter term has a very specific meaning emphasising the active role of front-line workers in the policy (see above 4.5.2). As workers’ role in policy is not the principal focus of this thesis, the more descriptive term of ‘front-line workers’ is adopted.

Table 4.3: How Front-Line Workers Manage Value Conflicts: Considerations

FACTOR	DESCRIPTION
<i>Standardisation & Discretion</i>	The balance between the extent to which procedures are specified and the freedom available to FLWs to make their own decisions on a case-by-case basis is likely to have a bearing on the strategies available and used by FLWs to manage value conflicts
<i>Prioritising</i>	In the face of conflicting or competing expectations and priorities, FLWs may prioritise some aspects of their jobs over others and this prioritising will have implications for which tasks they perform and the tasks they neglect or pass on to others. The extent to which FLWs are orientated towards clients may have a bearing on how they prioritise.
<i>Bias/Modifying Conceptions</i>	Bias is a factor in deciding priorities, but bias might also manifest in other ways such as modifying conceptions of clients in order to minimise or cope with potential failure. Potentially bias may result in modifying conceptions of other aspects of a role, such as perception of managers or perceptions of what can realistically be achieved in the job, although these aspects have been little examined in the existing research.
<i>Withdrawal</i>	Withdrawal may involve leaving a job or withdrawing commitment or responsibility for their own performance, and may manifest in absenteeism, high turnover, slowdown and withdrawal of involvement.
<i>Multiple Practical Strategies</i>	There may be a multiplicity of potential practical strategies that may be adopted by FLWS, such as deferring decisions, transferring responsibilities downwards or onwards, stockpiling and work expanding to fill the time available

Sources: modified from: Lipsky (2010 [1980]); Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003); Thacher and Rein (2004); Stewart (2006); Steenhuisen and van Eeten (2008)

4.6 Summary

The motive for this chapter was to construct a theoretical framework to understand the role of values, values conflicts and how value conflicts are managed (especially by front-line workers) within third sector organisations delivering public services.

This chapter has developed a broad theoretical framework drawing together three conceptual approaches (values, particularly ‘public values’, Strategic Action Fields, and Social Identity approaches) to understand the operation of values and the importance of values in understanding human behaviour within organisational contexts. In order to understand more specific behaviours in terms of how workers experience and manage value conflicts, this chapter drew together material on a ‘client-focused’ approach, managing value conflicts and street-level bureaucrats. The broad theoretical framework pro-

vides an understanding of the value conflicts at the organisational level which are examined in Chapter Six, although the contribution of the broad theoretical framework is considered in more depth in Chapter Eight. The specific framework contributes to a better understanding of how front-line workers manage value conflicts and is utilised in Chapter Seven.

This research is concerned with how the value conflicts in different social fields play out at the level of the employees within third sector organisations delivering public services in Scotland, and particular questions arising from this chapter include:

- How far do third sector employees experience value conflicts and what are the sources of these value conflicts? In particular, is there conflict between ‘client-focus’ vs. ‘business-orientated’ values?
- To what extent do individuals (workers) identify with other groups in the organisation? e.g. In terms of social identity theory, who are perceived to be the ‘in’ groups and the ‘out’ groups? To what extent are values a source of identity differentiation between and within social groups?
- How do individuals manage values conflicts and what strategies (if any) do they employ to help resolve the conflicts, to help them cope with value conflicts, and to maintain a sense of motivation in their day-to-day work? (See Table 4.3 above)

4.7 Conclusion

In order to develop the research topic of value conflicts among Third Sector organisations (and particularly FLWs) in Scotland, Chapters Two, Three and Four covered a wide range of literature. Disparate strands of theoretical and empirical work have been examined in an attempt to provide a comprehensive framework which informs the development of the research questions and the focus of the empirical research which follows later in this thesis. This short conclusion aims to explicitly link some of the different concepts that have emerged in the literature chapters and to show how the concepts each integrate within the broader theoretical framework. A summary of key

concepts that emerged from each chapter will be provided shortly, followed by an outline of how these concepts are linked for the purposes of this thesis.

Chapter Two examined the context of the Third Sector, including the diverse nature of the sector and the sector's changing relationship with the state and its role in the provision of public services. A key concept that emerged from this chapter was the notion of organisational 'hybridity' which highlighted the increasing overlap between public, third and/or private sector identities among organisations. Increasing hybridity can lead to tensions or conflicts between the 'logics' of the different organisational identities, although it was argued that using the term 'values' instead of 'logics' offers the potential to recognise the normative aspects of organisational identity.

Chapter Three turned the focus to the workforce employed within the Third Sector and examined whether that workforce was distinctive in terms of its values and motivation. A key concept that was explored in this chapter was that of 'ethos', in particular 'public service ethos'. However, it was argued that the concept of a universal 'public service ethos' was limited in the context of increasing organisational 'hybridity' and that examining values and value conflicts offered a more promising approach to understanding employee motivations in the third sector.

Chapter Four presented the broader theoretical framework, bringing together the concept of 'values' with theories on social identity process, whereby values are conceived as an important component in social identity differentiation. The theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) provided an understanding of social space which helps to contextualise the sites where different groups enact and construct social identities. In addition, domain-specific theories were also examined for their contribution to understanding how FLWs might manage value conflicts on a day-to-day basis. A key body of work that emerged here was that on 'Street-Level Bureaucrats' which focuses on the strategies and practices of FLWs that contribute to the operation of public policy. It was argued that some of the strategies and practices of FLWs identified by Lipsky (2010 [1980]) could also be utilised by FLWs to help manage potential value conflicts. Chapter Four also identified one key potential value conflict that may be salient for third sector organisations and their FLWs, which was the conflict between values that

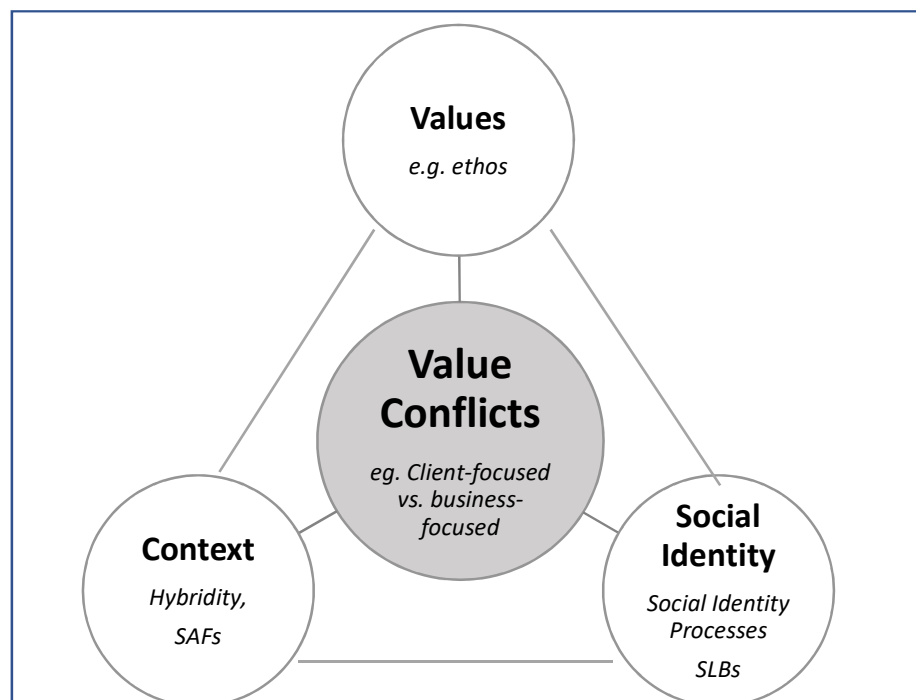
emphasised a 'client-focused' approach and values that favoured a 'business-orientated' or 'private sector' approach.

To summarise, the key concepts drawn from Chapters Two, Three and Four include:

- Hybridity and organisational 'logics' (the latter reconceptualised in terms of 'values')
- Ethos, especially 'public service ethos' (although the concepts of values and value conflicts are preferred here)
- Values
- Social Identity Processes
- Strategic Action Fields
- Street-Level Bureaucrats
- Value conflict between 'client-focused' values and 'business-focused' values

Figure 4.3 below illustrates how these concepts broadly relate to each other for the purposes of this thesis.

Figure 4.3: Key Concepts



The focus of this thesis is on value conflicts experienced by TSOs and particularly FLWs within TSOs. Therefore, value conflicts are placed centre stage at the heart of the above figure. In order to understand value conflicts, it is necessary to understand values and so values are a key component in the above figure. Values, for instance, relate to the 'public service ethos' identified in Chapter Three, where it was argued that the concept of values should be preferred over the concept of 'ethos' in order to better understand the motivation of employees in public services. Chapter Three also identified concerns amongst some contributors that New Public Management (NPM) techniques introduced into public services represented a move towards more 'private-sector' or 'business-style' values, whereas Chapter Four identified that a key dimension of 'public sector' values includes 'commitment to clients' in the form of a 'client-focused' approach indicating that staff in TSOs may be orientated towards a 'client-focused' approach. Therefore, a key potential value conflict that may emerge relates to tensions between 'client-focused' values and 'business-focused' values.

The second key dimension to understand value conflicts is social identity. Social identity approaches provide theories for how personal and social identity is formed by individuals and groups, including the importance of group differentiation through 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' and self-categorisation. However, all too often the dimension of values in personal and social identity has been neglected (with the notable exception of Bar-Tel (1998)), and Chapter Four argues that values are a key dimension which provide a source of social differentiation between groups, as well as a key motivator for human behaviour. Social groups holding different values may therefore conflict over their different values within an organisational setting, with conflicts potentially occurring between groups who favour 'client-focused' values and groups who favour 'business-focused' values. This thesis examines a particular group – third sector organisations, but particularly front-line workers - and in order to tie values and social identity processes to FLWs, the concept of Street Level Bureaucrats (SLBs) is utilised (Chapter Four). The concept of SLBs offers a useful account of the behaviour of front-line workers, although it comes from a different perspective to that adopted in this thesis and SLBs focuses on the strategies and practices FLWs use that shape the operation of public policy. However, the concept of SLBs is utilized in this thesis in two ways. Firstly, as outlined in Chapter Four, the concept of SLBs helps us to understand

FLWs as a group with particular values orientations, and this is illustrated by Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) who identify two different orientations among public sector workers, one being 'state-agent' and enforcing laws, rules and procedures, and the other 'agent-citizen' which focuses more on individual clients. Implicit in a number of the strategies and practices adopted by SLBs that Lipsky (2010 [1980]) identified are particular orientations adopted by SLBs, such as when SLBs define 'private goal definitions' to prioritise what to focus on in the context of competing expectations of public service work. Secondly, the concept of SLBs is useful when it comes to understanding how individual FLWs manage potential value conflicts and a number of the strategies and practices that Lipsky (2010 [1980]) identified were re framed in Chapter Four to help understand how FLWs might manage potential value conflicts.

The third and final dimension identified in the figure that contributes to understanding value conflicts is context. This includes the political and economic context within which TSOs operate. Chapter Two provides an overview of the general historical political perspective of TSOs as well as recent important contexts such as austerity policies and different political structures between the UK and Scotland. More specifically, Chapter Two identifies a trend towards increasing organisational hybridity which may result in increasing tensions between organisational 'values' resulting in value conflicts. As Chapter Four illustrates, the theory of SAFs also helps to understand the contexts in terms of the social spaces within which value conflicts arise, including the broader political and economic context which organisations inhabit in relation to other (more or less powerful) external organisational and institutional actors. Within an organisation, different social groups may hold different values from each other and there may be conflict between them resulting from differences in values, which are mediated by differences in power relations and social identity processes. As such SAFs help to illustrate the background within which values, social identity and value conflicts take place.

It is proposed in this thesis that each dimension (values, social identity and context) has an important role to play in the experience of value conflicts and how they are managed among TSOs and FLWs in particular. Each dimension cannot be taken in isolation from the other dimensions, but they operate in conjunction with each other, from which arise

particular value conflicts that are experienced and managed in particular ways by TSOs and FLWs.

Having discussed the overall framework for this thesis as a whole, the next chapter examines the methodology and methodological issues arising in relation to the research topic at hand.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

Chapters Two and Three presented findings from a review of relevant literature on the third sector context and its workforce and identified gaps in current knowledge about values and value conflicts in relation to the third sector. Chapter Four developed a theoretical framework within which to frame research questions emerging from the literature review. The current chapter aims to explain and justify the overall research strategy adopted by the research in order to empirically investigate the research questions previously identified.

Firstly, this chapter begins with a brief reiteration of the aims and objectives of the study and some of the methodological challenges posed by the aims and objectives. Secondly, ontological and epistemological issues are considered and (thirdly) Critical Realism (CR) is presented as the metaphysical and ontological position which is chosen to underpin and inform the overall research strategy of the thesis. Fourthly, the implications of CR are considered for: theory; research strategy; methodology, methods and analysis of data. Fifthly, research ethics and implications for the research are considered, including why it was important for this research to go beyond basic principles of research standards. The sixth part turns to the case study organisations who took part in the research and includes: the rationale for organisational selection; the structure of the case studies; the interview and focus group schedules used, and; short profiles of each case study organisation and the research that was carried out within each one. Finally, the conclusion summarises the key points arising from this chapter.

5.2 Aims and Objectives of the Research

The aims of the research were outlined in Chapter One, and emerged from the literature review in Chapters Two and Three and the theoretical framework in Chapter Four. The central aim of this research is to explain how employees within TSOs, particularly FLWs, manage value conflicts. For instance, how do the tensions between different values in the organisations manifest in particular contexts? That is, individual TSOs operate within social, political and economic contexts based on, for instance, particular groups

of clients, delivering particular services and in specific geographical locations throughout Scotland. What impact do specific contexts have on the nature of the value conflicts that manifest within individual TSOs? In particular, the research seeks to examine the experience of FLWs in terms of the value conflicts they experience in the course of carrying out their jobs and how FLWs manage any potential value conflicts that emerge.

Chapter Four put the emerging questions from the literature review into a theoretical context, bringing together the notion of 'values' with SAFs and Social Identity Processes within a Critical Realist Framework in order to develop a theoretical framework to advance the understanding of value conflicts within TSOs.

However, as was illustrated in Chapter Four there are difficulties with 'values' as a concept, not least that the concept lacks coherence and that the 'values' (or at least some of them) held by individuals and groups are often tacit and unclear. Furthermore, there may be differences between the values that individuals/groups hold in theory and in practice. Another issue that presents potential difficulties for researching the topic of 'values' is that different individuals and groups within an organisation are likely to have different values from each other. There is limited previous research examining values among staff at TSOs and so limited evidence and guidance on researching the topic.

Essentially, researching 'value conflicts' is highly complex and any methodical framework of the subject is going to be limited in terms of the level of complexity and nuance. In terms of methods specifically, using a multiplicity of methods is impractical within the scope of a doctoral thesis, and the case study method which is employed is considered to represent the most appropriate option for reasons which will be explained shortly. The next section considers ontological and epistemological questions and explains why a CR approach is adopted for this thesis.

5.3 Ontological and Epistemological Considerations

Ontology refers to assumptions about the nature of reality (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014), that is, the assumptions about whether entities have an objective reality or if they are socially constructed (Bryman and Bell 2007). Ontology has implications for how

things can be known, or epistemology, which Bryman and Bell (2007) define as ‘what is regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline’ (p. 16). Two distinct ontological positions are Objectivism and Constructivism. Objectivism holds that phenomena exist independently of social actors while Constructivism claims that phenomena (and their meanings) are socially constructed and have no objective reality except that ascribed by social actors (Bryman 2008; O’Mahoney and Vincent 2014)

Postmodernism is a position that supports a constructionist ontology, that there is no definitive, external reality (Bryman 2008). Hart (2004) argues that postmodernism encompasses a diversity of different viewpoints, but that there are three commonly held tenets which include: there is no natural or universal essence to being human and that everything is historically formed and culturally conditioned (he calls this position ‘anti-essentialism’); there are no normative rules about what human beings ought to do or what is reasonable to do in a given situation (‘anti-realism’), and; an epistemological position that holds that the knowledge of the world has no secure ground or foundation (‘anti-foundationalism’).

One problem with postmodernism and positions that adopt a constructivist ontological stance is that they are unable to distinguish between different levels of reality such as the agency/structure distinction (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000). Archer (2000), for instance, argues that postmodernist positions are guilty of downwards conflation where human action is only explicable in terms of social structure. Such a ‘flat’ ontology is unable to capture the interplay between agency and structure, or between different levels such as the interplay between people, groups, organisations, political and economic structures and social systems (Marks and O’Mahoney 2014). The inability to analyse different levels is problematic for the research topic proposed in this thesis because this thesis seeks to situate value conflicts experienced within TSOs and by front-line workers within broader contexts of social policy and organisational behaviour.

A further problem with positions that adopt a constructivist ontological stance is that values are deemed to have no objectivity and are purely the product of social construction (Sayer 2005). Values cannot therefore be the source or motivation for behaviour.

This position is problematic for this thesis whose central topic is values. Another problem with postmodernist and similar positions is that they are only ever able to describe behaviour in a particular situation and they are not able to generalise findings to other situations or contexts because constructivist positions deny there is anything essential about human beings, therefore no universal 'laws' can be identified. This limits the ability of such positions to provide explanations for behaviour, and is problematic for this thesis because this thesis seeks to contribute to knowledge by identifying underlying mechanisms that have wider generalisability than the limited cases involved in the study.

For the purposes of this thesis a position based on a constructivist ontology is therefore rejected, which then suggests the necessity of a position based on an objectivist, or realist, ontology. However, realist ontologies take a number of different forms. Positivism is an epistemological position that takes a realist (objectivist) stance on the nature of phenomena. 'Positivism' is a widely-used term which includes and overlaps with other, sometimes disparate, schools of thought including 'empiricism', 'behaviourism', 'naturalism' and the 'scientific approach', which all share the realist stance (Hughes and Sharrock 1997). Positivism holds a number of principles which include that: phenomena can be known (and only known) through sense-observation; theory generates hypotheses that can be tested and which allow explanations of laws to be drawn; knowledge is gleaned by gathering data facts from which the basis of laws can be inducted; science should be conducted in a way that is objective and value-free, and there is a distinction to be made between scientific and normative statements, i.e. between facts and values (Bryman 2008).

However, there are a number of problems with a positivist epistemology. Like postmodernism, positivism is unable to recognise different levels of reality and the structure/agency distinction, although for different reasons. Positivists claim that human action determines social structures but this is criticised by Archer (2000) for upwards conflation where social structures are only explicable in terms of human action. Another problem for positivist positions is their difficulty dealing with values and normative issues (Fact-Value dualism) because by following Hume's separation of 'what is' from

‘what ought to be’ they diminish the explanatory power of social science (McIntyre 1984).

Values are often tacitly embodied within theories and explanations, although are only rarely articulated openly (Sayer 2000). Sayer (2012) argues that the academic separation of the social sciences from Philosophy has led to a lack of understanding or ability at normative reasoning among social scientists, who:

Tend, unknowingly, to project their ‘de-normativized’ orientation of the world onto those they study, thus producing an alienated and alienating social science which struggles to relate to everyday experience and why anything matters to people (Sayer 2012, p. 29)

Sayer (2012) therefore argues that in trying to make statements value-free, social scientists actually impoverish an important part of the explanation. For instance, to say that millions of people died in the Holocaust is to miss the crucial details of how they died and the moral implications. In this case, a more ‘value-laden’ description is truer (Bhaskar 2013a).

A further problem with positivism is its assumption of ‘closed’ systems, whereby externalities can be eliminated from the phenomenon of interest (Sayer 2004). Social research studies phenomena that operate within ‘open’ systems so it is both impossible to replicate a closed system (as might be approximated, for instance, in an experiment conducted in the natural sciences) and undesirable, since external factors may have an important bearing on the phenomenon observed (Sayer 2000). For Positivist positions, phenomena can only be known through sense-observation and therefore anything that is not directly observable is not valid knowledge. This severely limits the ability to comprehend phenomena that may not be directly observed and positivist positions are unable to understand phenomena such as feelings and emotions (Sayer 2000; 2004; 2010).

For this thesis, a positivist position is problematic because it is unable to recognise different levels of reality and the agency/structure distinction which form the context of the thesis. Similarly, the disregard of ‘open’ social systems makes situating value conflicts within a particular context impossible. Most problematic for this thesis, however,

is positivism's inability to recognise, let alone explain, values and normative phenomenon. While an objectivist, or realist, ontology is the favoured position for this thesis, a positivist epistemology is rejected for the reasons just stated.

5.4 Critical Realism

Critical realism (CR) offers an alternative approach to both a constructivist ontology and a positivist epistemology and acts as a 'philosophical under-labourer' clearing the ground and providing the philosophical underpinnings for science (Bhaskar 2013c). CR is based on an ontology which presupposes that entities exist independently of human beings and CR contains a number of distinctive principles that make it unique among other philosophies and which inform the objects of investigation and how methods are deployed to investigate them (Reed 2009; Pawson and Tilly 1997). This section describes some of the key tenets of CR that form assumptions adopted in this thesis, including structure/agency and stratified social ontology, fact-values and the explanatory critique and assumptions about causality.

5.4.1 Structure/Agency and Stratified Social Ontology

Critical Realists propose a stratified social ontology which views structures and agency as being different from each other and having their own properties, but also inter-dependent and intertwined. Social structures such as language, conventions, beliefs and resources exist independently of human beings, but, when engaging in action, human beings reproduce or transform social structures. Human beings have 'intentional agency' whereas social structures do not and social structures operate through human beings (Bhaskar 2013a). Therefore, structure and stratification are fundamental to a CR perspective.

Reality is a multi-tiered stratification consisting of different levels and depths. From this follows the phenomenon of emergence where a level of reality emerges from a previous level, in a way which roots it in the previous level, but where it is distinct and has different properties from the level it emerged from (for instance, mind emerges from the brain, so that mind could not exist without the brain, but neither is it the same as the brain or irreducible to it) (Bhaskar 2013a). Explaining what happens in the social world

requires a relational perspective, where the different levels relate to each other. For instance, Bhaskar identifies several relational mechanisms which he terms the Seven Scales of Social Being (Bhaskar 2013b), and include:

1. Sub-individual, e.g. motives
2. Individual, e.g. novelists, biography, ethnomethodology
3. Micro-level, e.g. organisational, family
4. Meso-level, e.g. capitalism
5. Macro-level, e.g. Contemporary England
6. Mega-level, e.g. different time and space
7. Planetary level, e.g. whole of human history

A CR approach recognises both the ontological status and analytical standing of agency and structure as interrelated but separate and because of this has particular value as a research philosophy underpinning the study of organisations, as Reed (2000) explains:

Organisation analysis will be much better placed to describe and explain the complex interplay between structural conditioning and social action as it reproduces or transforms the social forms through which struggles over material and symbolic resources are organised (Reed 2000, p. 56)

A CR's stratified ontology permits the examination of the interplay between structure and agency at different social levels. In particular, a theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) (as outlined in the previous chapter) fits well with CR, because SAFs provide a complementary framework aimed at specifically identifying the social spaces within which the interplay of structure and agency is carried out. An ontological stance that supports structure/agency and a stratified social reality are essential for this thesis because it aims to understand values and value conflicts that occur within different social spaces within organisations and, also, to understand value conflicts in the context of wider social structures of public sector policy.

5.4.2 *Facts/Values and the Explanatory Critique*

In the social sciences, the subject matter can also include beliefs as well as structures and actions and The Explanatory Critique posited by Bhaskar (2013a; 1979) and Khaskar and Collier (1998), argues that social sciences are necessarily evaluative. Bhaskar rejects 'Hume's law' which states that moving from a fact to an evaluation is 'logically inadmissible' (Bhaskar 1998a, p. xviii) and instead argues that social reality (and social sciences) are value-impregnated in character and that these value-impregnations possess value implications. Bhaskar (1979) argues that explanations provided by the social sciences which identify misconceptions and avoidable suffering also imply that these misconceptions and sufferings should be removed. In other words, the 'is' becomes the 'ought'. In order to remove the causes, social science can also suggest positive action, thereby providing an emancipatory role (Bhaskar 1998; Bhaskar and Collier 1998; Carter and New 2004; Sayer 2000). Bhaskar identifies two models of the explanatory critique, one which is based on false beliefs and the other is based on the identification of suffering or frustrated needs. Thus, identification of false beliefs or suffering/frustrated needs implies the necessity of doing something to address them, with the ultimate goal of valuing a state of affairs or practices which support human needs and promote human flourishing (Sayer 2000).

However, Carter and New (2004) argue that the limitation of the explanatory critique is that it deals in ethical abstractions and cannot decide a course of action in a concrete case. Relatedly, there may be a number of alternative explanations as to the causes of false beliefs and suffering and it may not be clear which explanation is superior or "what would constitute improvement or emancipation, and hence unclear as to what determinations we should want and need" (Sayer 2000, p. 160). However, Carter and New (2004) also argue that explanatory critiques play an important role in testing the "boundaries of ethical and political agreement" (Carter and New 2000, p. 64), therefore provoking debate and, potentially, leading to change. Sayer (2000) argues for the further development of normative theory within the context of empirical social science in order to better understand the moral dimension of issues.

The Explanatory Critique Bhaskar offers argues that some social beliefs may be false and that since beliefs are a part of the subject matter of social science, then these may be identified as such. He assumes that truth is inherently a good thing and that social science can offer an account of the cause of false beliefs and in doing so suggest that these causes are negative. CR therefore argues that values have some degree of objective reality. For instance, Sayer (2005) argues that there is an important degree of consistency between values in different social settings and that values are not purely the product of social construction. Also see Sandel (2012) and McIntyre (1984).

Ethical dispositions, beliefs and norms are indeed likely to vary across social space, reflecting social divisions and how people have been related and how they have been allowed to treat others, there they also strikingly cross-cut social divisions (Sayer 2005, p. 47)

Sayer (2012) argues that as human beings we are vulnerable, and that we have capacities for flourishing as well as susceptibilities to harm and suffering. Sayer (2012) argues that values are linked to well-being or ill-being, although different cultures may provide different forms of flourishing and suffering. Values are an important dimension in guiding actions, and Sayer (2012) argues, become habits of thinking to which individuals can become emotionally attached. While wider social values influence individual values, it is often through unusual situations that values are articulated in practice, so that they may change in the light of experience and argument. Habit and reflexivity are therefore both implicated in how values are translated into practice so that recurrent events that do not challenge existing values will generally be acted upon in habitual ways but challenges to values or novel situations call upon a reflexive consideration of how to act (also see 4.4.7).

CR therefore disputes the dichotomy between facts/values as false and promotes a social science that recognises values and makes moral judgements. This is essential to the current research project whose focus is on values and value conflicts and the impact these have on decisions and behaviour within organisations. The CR principle of the explanatory critique also underpins some of the conclusions and recommendations that are drawn at the end of the thesis.

5.4.3 Causality: Generative Mechanisms and Abduction/Retroduction

This section outlines the implications of CR for understanding causality. CR has a particular notion of causality that is contrasted with both positivism and constructivism. Positivism assumes that ‘law-like generalisations’ exist in social or material settings which can be explained and predicted (Easton 2010, p. 118). However, CRs argue that observed regularities in themselves do not represent an explanation. These observed regularities only constitute the identification at the ‘empirical’ level and the ‘empirical’ level is only one of three different realms, which also include the ‘actual’ and the ‘real’ (Ackroyd 2009).

However, unlike constructivists, CR assumes there is an underlying reality making generalizability of findings possible, although the grounds of this generalizability is different from that of Positivism. For CRs generalisations are derived by identifying ‘deep processes’ operating under specific conditions (Easton 2010, p. 126). Pawson and Tilly (1997) describe this as “*causal outcomes*” following from “*mechanisms acting in context*” (Pawson and Tilly 1997, p. 65) which they state as:

$$\text{Outcomes} = \text{mechanism} + \text{context}$$

By ‘mechanism’ they mean a ‘generative mechanism’ which in conjunction with the context then forms the basis for causal explanations. A ‘generative mechanism’ is a causal power which underlies observed relations, processes and events (Reed 2009; Outhwaite 1998). According to Bhaskar (1978):

A generative mechanism is nothing other than a way of acting of a thing. It endures, and under appropriate circumstances is exercised, as long as the properties that account for it persist (Bhaskar 1978, p. 37)

It should be noted that multiple generative mechanisms may operate in conjunction with each other and of course, they may operate differently in different contexts (Pawson and Tilly 1997; Ackroyd 2009). Within a CR framework, research designs can target different aspects of the explanation, for instance, focusing on either the mechanism or the context (Ackroyd 2009).

CR rejects the Positivist modes of inference of induction and deduction as flawed. For instance, the logic of induction is based on providing generalisations based on observations from a 'valid' sample. However, this is problematic because it can only explain associations between variables, and is not an explanation of why they are associated (Ackroyd 2009). In addition, the probability of a particular outcome is based on an assumption that all possible variations have been observed, which may be unrealistic (Bhaskar 2013a). Deduction involves deriving a conclusion based on known premises (going from the general to the particular) leading to testing propositions which have been deduced from theory by trying to prove the null hypothesis (Ackroyd 2009).

For CRs the challenge is to identify the causal mechanism as discussed above and expressed in Pawson and Tilly's (1997) rendering as 'Outcomes = mechanism + context'. This is called the process of 'retroduction' or 'abduction'. It should be noted that there is some confusion in the literature between 'retroduction' and 'abduction' and it is not always made clear what is the distinction between the two concepts. Modell (2009) suggests they are used interchangeably and sometimes conflated while Ackroyd (2009) distinguishes the two as separate processes but fails to explain the distinction clearly. Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014) further refine the concept of 'retroduction' to include a specifically historical dimension (see 5.5.2).

Retroduction [or abduction] is defined succinctly by Fleetwood and Ackroyd (2004):

Retroduction involves moving from a conception of some phenomenon of interest to a conception of a different kind of thing (power, mechanism) that could have generated the given phenomenon. Thus science, on this account, is concerned with identifying powers and mechanisms that produce or facilitate phenomena at a different level. (Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004, p. 216)

Recalling the earlier identification of distinctions between the 'empirical', the 'actual' and the 'real' by Bhaskar, generative mechanisms are not directly observable, but manifest in other observable phenomena. Therefore, the process of retroduction involves identifying process and mechanisms which would account for observed phenomena, and identifying the process/mechanism is likely to draw on metaphor and analogy (Bhaskar 1998; Archer et al 2000).

Theory is important in order to identify possible generative mechanisms and processes because theory proposes and tests these underlying processes, which can then be theoretically imputed to other similar cases. Theory informs the identification of underlying processes that cause events, relations and such like to be observed. However, theoretical insights need to be elaborated and confirmed by empirical observation because CRs also assume that little occurs independent of context so theorising is often provisional and possibly fallible (Modell 2009; Archer et al 2000). This means the rejection of 'grand' theories because it is impossible to explain social phenomena exhaustively and on-going theorising is required which takes into account empirical observations "*into the contingent circumstances of concrete events in a particular context*" (Model 2009, p. 213). Therefore, CR inquiry includes moving back and forth between abstract theory and empirical enquiry (Modell 2009; Ackroyd 2009; Reed 2009).

The next section develops the implications of adopting a CR approach for research design.

5.5 Critical Realism: Implications for Research Design

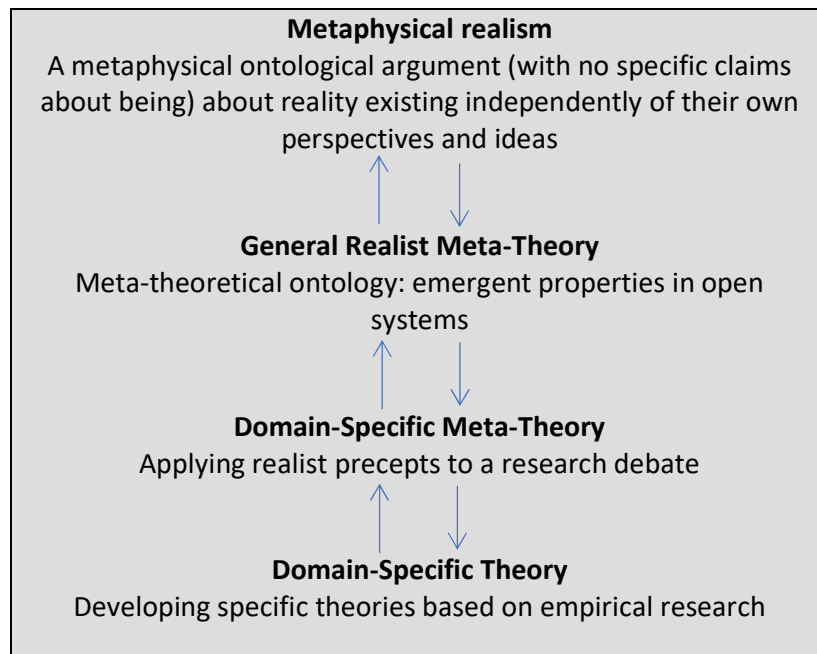
Critical realist ontology and epistemology has a number of implications for research design, including theory, method and analysis. Implications for theory, method and analysis are now examined separately.

5.5.1 Critical Realism: Implications for Theory

CR acts as 'a general orientation to research practice' (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014, p. 12) but does not provide details of the particular causal mechanisms pertinent to specific research contexts. The emphasis on 'contingent circumstances' relevant to particular contexts allows for an iterative process between abstract theory and empirical enquiry (as noted above). A starting place for the research process is a general literature review in order to identify the theories of relevance within a specific research domain. O'Mahoney and Vincent (2014) identify three key aims for a literature review which include: distinguishing theory which is relevant and realistic from theory that is less relevant and realistic; identifying mechanisms that might be implicated in the phenomena of interest and the possible contexts, and identifying gaps in knowledge with regards to

mechanisms and contexts which justify further study. In addition, O’Mahoney and Vincent (2014) advocate carrying out an ‘immanent critique’ which identifies the problems with existing theory and aims to develop ‘best fit’ theories which can be examined and then refined through in empirical enquiry. Figure 5.1 (below) identifies distinct levels of realist theorising:

Figure 5.1: Levels of Realist Theorising



Source: Reproduced from O’Mahoney and Vincent (2014), Figure 1.1, p. 15

This thesis draws upon O’Mahoney and Vincent’s (2014) conception of levels of realist thinking. The discussion earlier in this current chapter (5.4) established the general realist meta-theory (Critical Realism), while the previous chapters presented the results from a literature review reviewing domain-specific meta-theory including theories of values, Strategic Action Fields, and social identity processes. Further domain-specific theory such as organisational ‘hybridity’ and organisational ‘logics’ (Chapter Two) and managing value conflicts (Chapter Three) supplements the more general realist meta-theory. It is also anticipated that further domain-specific theory will be developed during the course of the empirical fieldwork as a result of emerging findings, and Chapter Eight reflects on findings from the empirical research in relation to the theories from the literature reviews.

5.5.2 Critical Realism: Implications for Research Strategy

A starting point for considering research strategy from a CR standpoint is Ackroyd and Karlsson's (2014) typology of eight possible designs. See Figure 5.2 (below).

Figure 5.2: Eight Designs Relevant to Realist-informed Research and Some of their Characteristics

Distinctive Research Strategies				
Intensive \longleftrightarrow Extensive				
	<i>What is the mechanism? (Context as given)</i>	<i>How do context and mechanism: Typically interact? Historically intersect?</i>		<i>What is the context? (Mechanisms inferred)</i>
Research Procedures				
Detached Study	Case studies (1)	Comparative case analysis (2)	Generative institutional analysis (3)	Research surveys and census data (4)
Dominant Logic of Discovery	Abduction	Abduction	Abduction/ Retroduction	Abduction/ Retroduction

Source: reproduced from Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014) Table 2.1, p. 27

Intensive and extensive research designs are typically represented as opposite ends of a scale, each asking different questions and associated with different methodological strategies (Sayer 2010). Intensive research asks how processes work in a particular case or small number of cases and is associated with qualitative methods. Extensive research asks what are the common properties and general patterns of populations as a whole and is associated with quantitative methods (Sayer 2010). The intensive form of research as identified by Sayer (2010) is popular among CR researchers, particularly those researching organisations, because it is able to identify generative mechanisms in relation to wider economic and social relations, whereas extensive research is limited to identifying patterns in the context (Reed 2009; Ackroyd 2009). Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014) reconceive the intensive-extensive continuum as four distinctive research designs depending on the extent to which the context or the mechanism is the focus of the research project. A single in-depth case study ((1) in Figure 5.2) focuses on the mechanism, taking the context as given, and is more pertinent for examining unusual or rare cases, while multiple case studies (2) are advised for identifying underlying mechanisms

in order to establish just how context and mechanism interact (Ackroyd 2009, p. 535). Comparative case studies (2) focus on the mechanism but offer comparison of contexts between different cases to further identify the interaction of mechanism and context. Generative institutional analysis (3) also examines mechanisms in context, with the additional dimension of historical context, and research survey and census data (4) focus on identifying common properties and patterns in the context. In the original table proposed by Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014), a further dimension between detached study and engaged study is proposed because of CR commitment to emancipation and the potential of research to change social relations. However, the engaged study dimension is not reproduced here because this study adopts a traditional detached stance (the options of which are detailed above), although it is recognised that the research processes has the potential to have an impact on the participants in the study (see 5.6 later in this chapter).

This research adopts a comparative case study approach (2) as identified by Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014). The central question of the study focuses on the mechanism of values and value conflicts but the study is also concerned with the implications of the wider policy environment, therefore a single case study was rejected in favour of comparative case studies. Selection of case studies can be through “judiciously chosen comparative case studies”, more commonly known as ‘purposeful sampling’ (Creswell 1998). Purposeful sampling involves choosing cases based on particular identifiable or supposed characteristics that are of interest and will be guided by the data required to establish ‘a plausible causal mechanism’ and constrained by what data can actually be gathered in the research context (Easton 2010, p. 124). Purposeful sampling is employed in the research here in order to select case study organisations with particular characteristics of interest to the study. Also see the rationale for purposeful sampling as outlined in 5.7.1.

It was not the intention of the study to consider a historical dimension, but during the course of the research (in retrospective accounts given during interviews) certain recent historical factors emerged as pertinent. Relevant historical factors are referred to (often tentatively) in Chapters Six and Seven because these are relevant to understanding the operation of values and value conflicts. However, this research is not considered to

equate to a generative institutional analysis (3) as identified by Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014) because the historical dimension was not systematically considered from the outset, although the experience of this study suggests that a clear-cut distinction between the research procedures is more a theory than likely to occur in practice. In the early stages of the development of this research project, research surveys and census data (4) were considered as possible additions to a comparative case study method. However, existing data sets did not contain any relevant data to the subject of the study and, although the design of a bespoke survey for the topic was considered, this was ultimately rejected for several reasons including difficulties of measuring ‘values’ and ‘value conflicts’ effectively (Ackroyd and Karlsson 2014).

5.5.3 Case Study Methodology

The last section outlined why comparative case studies was the method chosen to investigate the topic at hand. This section now outlines features of case study methodology more generally, including the advantages and disadvantages, and then details the specific methods of data collection used and why these methods were chosen.

There is a great variety in what researchers call ‘case study’ methodologies (Stake 2000a; Gerring 2007) but, at its most basic, a case study is where:

Case connotes a spatially delineated phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time (Gerring 2007, p. 19)

A case is a ‘bounded entity’ such as an individual, organization, behavioural condition, event or other social event, although the boundary between the case and its context may be blurred (Creswell 1998; Yin 2012). A case study often contains multiple sources of data, for instance, it can contain data drawn from a variety of sources of evidence including documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participation observation and physical artefacts (Creswell 1998; Yin 2009).

Yin (2009) argues that case studies can be used for three purposes – exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. Exploratory research aims to develop appropriate hypotheses and propositions for further investigation while descriptive research aims to describe

the prevalence or incidence of a phenomenon or to predict particular outcomes, so addressing the 'how many' or 'how much' type of questions and, finally, explanatory research seeks to identify links that can be traced over time, the 'how' and the 'why'.

Strengths of the Case Study Method

The case study method has a number of strengths including that the method takes place in an 'open' system (Sayer, 2010), 'real-life' (Yin 2009), or for naturally occurring phenomenon (Hammersley and Gomm 2000). This is contrasted, for example, with the experimental method which operates in a controlled and 'closed' system where only some factors are considered and many externalities are omitted but since 'real world' human behaviour occurs in a complex and open system, omitting such externalities seriously undermines the wider applicability of findings which are based on controlled experiments. The case study method has the advantage that the context of the phenomenon can be considered, for instance situating the case within its social, historical, political and economic setting (Creswell 1998).

Another key strength of the case study method is its flexibility (Easton 2010) whereby findings made during the course of carrying out the case study can be fed back and initial theoretical propositions amended, and re-tested in the field. Yin (2007) refers to this as a 'feedback loop' and notes this has the advantage of the potential for re-design which can guard against accusations of ignoring or distorting a discovery that is not accommodated within the original design. A case study also provides the opportunity to look at a phenomenon in depth and comprehensively, enabling the investigation of complex, multifaceted phenomena (Easton 2010; Creswell 1998; Yin 2007).

Weaknesses with the Case Study Method

A number of authors have noted weaknesses with the method (Yin 2009; 2012; Stake 2000a). One challenge for the case study method can be to maintain robustness and rigor because of potential bias and unsystematic procedures (Yin 2009), although Yin (2009; 2012) argues that this need not be the case if case studies are carried out correctly. For instance, developing a research design in line with an appropriate theoretical framework, triangulating using different sources of data, and considering alternative explanations during data collection and refining theory are some of the ways to ensure

rigour. Some of this procedure is outlined in Figure 5.2 above. Similarly, Stake (2000a) identifies similar procedures for undertaking qualitative case study research which include: conceptualising the focus of study and bounding the case; selecting which research questions to emphasise; seeking patterns of data to develop the research questions; triangulating key findings; selecting alternative interpretations, and developing generalisations for assertions about the case.

Another potential challenge for case study research is managing the large quantities of data that it generates (Yin 2009). It is therefore important that feasible limits are set to the extent of a case study because not everything can possibly be covered and this has implications for the number of case studies that can be included, although Yin (2009) argues that selection of the number of case studies should be based on research questions and design. However, an advantage of a smaller number of case studies is that a large number of features can be considered within each case examined, as opposed to a large number of cases, but a smaller number of features in a survey methodology (Hammersley and Gomm 2000). Hammersley and Gomm (2000) also suggest that a greater amount of detailed information can be collected where there are fewer case studies covered and Creswell (1998) suggests that typically the limit to the number of case studies chosen is four because any more than this compromises the depth which can be examined.

Another potential limitation of case studies that has been identified is the problem of the limited potential for generalizability of findings (Stake 2000b; Gomm et al 2000). However, the issue of generalizability is somewhat contentious, and seems to be related to underlying research philosophies that are not always articulated in accounts of the case study research method (Easton 2010). Perspectives that have adopted a case study approach have included constructivism and positivism, and positivist perspectives have sought to justify the number of cases in terms of ability to generalize while constructivists have sought to justify case study methods based on authentic and detailed analysis rejecting the idea of knowing what is real and identify causality (Easton 2010). However, CR deals with the issue of generalizability in its own particular way, as we have examined earlier in this chapter.

5.5.4 Data Collection Methods

There are a variety of data collection methods that can be utilised as part of a case study methodology (Stake 2000a; Gerring 2007). The principal methods employed for this research study are semi-structured interviews supplemented by focus groups, documentary records and observation. This section outlines some of the key methods that are commonly used and the reasons for their inclusion or exclusion as part of the research project.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview is a common source of evidence in case study research (Yin 2012) and is distinguished from interviews used in quantitative research which are generally highly structured using closed questions that can later be coded for statistical analysis (Bryman 2008). Semi-structured interviews were used because they are able to focus on a particular issue but are also flexible enough to respond to issues that emerge in the course of the interview, such as following up on an interesting point raised by the interviewee or probing where inconsistencies arise (Bryman 2008; Yin 2009). The method fits well with CR because it allows for the testing of theory propositions and for revisions in the light of emerging evidence (e.g. interview schedules can be amended in the light of emerging findings). Although direct face-to-face interviews were preferred because of the opportunity to build rapport, to see an individual in their work environment and to maximise the advantages from non-verbal communication, sometimes face-to-face interviews may be impractical and costly due to geographical distances. Videoconferencing allows real-time conversation and has the advantage over the telephone interview because it allows for non-verbal cues (Paulus et al 2013).

There are a number of issues to be aware of when carrying out interviews including that interviewing requires special skills and knowledge which enable the researcher to follow a line of inquiry whilst at the same time remaining unbiased, friendly and un-threatening (Bryman 2008, citing Kvale 1996; Yin 2009). Bryman (2008, citing Roulston et al 2003) and Yin (2009) indicate that there are a number of potential weaknesses with the interview method and researchers need to be aware of: unexpected interviewee behaviour and

emergent problems, when the interview does not go as expected; personal bias and expectations; bias due to poorly articulated questions, response bias, inaccuracies due to poor recall, maintaining focus when asking questions and not becoming side-tracked by issues raised by the interviewee, and dealing with any potentially sensitive issues. Kvale (2007) identifies a number of ethical issues to consider when carrying out interviews and ethical issues are considered separately in 5.6.

Focus Groups

Focus Groups involve a number of people, with a moderator or facilitator who guides the discussion (Bryman 2008: Stewart et al 2007), and may be used for a variety of purposes including exploratory research and testing hypotheses (Stewart et al 2007). The focus group method provides a platform for the participants to explore a topic in relation to their peers and for the researcher to observe group interactions since focus groups also provide an opportunity to study interactions between participants and how they collectively make sense and construct meanings around a topic (Bryman 2008). For instance, in a one-to-one interview an interviewer can ask the interviewee about his reasons for holding a particular view, but a focus group allows *“people to probe each other’s reasons for holding a certain view”* (Bryman 2008, p. 475). When participants listen to others in the group, they may modify or qualify their own view and the focus group may also raise issues that some participants may not have previously considered giving them an opportunity to develop an opinion. It also provides a platform where participants can highlight what they consider important.

However, operating focus groups presents a number of challenges such as the difficulty in organising a group and attendance, with Bryman (2008) finding that ‘no shows’ on the day are not uncommon. The moderator faces a number of issues such as: having less control over the proceedings; a small number of participants dominating the discussion; diffident participants; people speaking at the same time (Bryman 2008). In addition, participants may tend to express culturally expected views rather than their own opinion, although this gap between the public and private views may be a topic of interest in itself (Bryman 2008).

While the focus group was useful in the pilot case study for exploring issues, and particularly because the focus groups were organised around existing organisational events (limiting 'no shows'), semi-structured one-to-one interviews were favoured in the other case studies because they afforded greater scope for eliciting individual experiences and opinions that may have been more limited in a focus group environment.

Observation

Yin (2009) identifies two key forms of observation in case studies including direct observation and participant-observation. Direct observation includes formal observation, such as observing meetings and work processes, whereas 'less formal' informal observation consists of direct observations made throughout the fieldwork visit. Participant-observation involves participation of the researcher in a role or event that is actually being studied (Yin 2009) or 'the extended involvement of the researcher in the social life of those he or she studies' (Bryman 2008, p. 401).

This research study did not seek to engage in participant-observation because 'values' and 'value-conflicts' were not considered to be directly or easily observable, and because participant-observation can be time-consuming (Yin 2009). However, it should be noted that distinctions between levels of observation are often not clear-cut in the field. As Nason and Golding (1998, p. 242) point out: "all social research takes the form of observation" because it entails the researcher participating in the social world they are observing. They note that even while a researcher tries to distance themselves from the situation they are studying, they are still 'deemed to be participants of something' (Nason and Golding 1998, p. 239). At play are other people's expectations and assumptions, as well as those of the researcher, with variations also depending on the role and position of 'the other'. In addition, observation is not carried out separately to other methods, but forms part of these too, so a researcher will also be observing the environment during the course of an interview and Nason and Golding (1998) indicate that it would be unrealistic for this to be otherwise since observation is a natural human process. However, they do recommend reflective practice as a practical means of examining the assumptions being made by the researcher (also see 5.6).

This research study used some forms of direct and informal observation where access was permitted, such as observing meetings and informal observations made on field visits, particularly in order to identify physical social interaction spaces. Observations were largely intended to support and (where applicable) verify findings made from other methods used in the case study (Yin 2009).

Documentary and Archival Records

Relevant documents and archival records were also accessed from each of the case study organisations in order to provide useful information prior to site visits as well as providing evidence that could be used to verify and corroborate data gathered from other sources, e.g. for confirmation of organisational values (Yin 2009). However, not all documents are relevant to the study at hand and selection of relevant material is required in order to limit the amount of irrelevant material that needs to be analysed. In addition, Yin (2009) advises that the accuracy and purpose of documents needs to be considered because they may represent the 'official organisational line' which is not replicated in reality. However, contradictions between sources of data may also be helpful in identifying areas to probe further. Other issues to consider include: accessibility due to privacy restrictions or being deliberately withheld; difficulties in finding documents; possible biased selection of documents; bias within the document itself (Yin 2009, p. 102).

5.5.5 Data Collection and Analysis of Data

Digital audio recording of direct interviews and focus groups was the favoured method of collecting data. While the presence of audio-recording equipment has the potential to impact on the interview process, with participants potentially being more guarded in their responses (King and Horrocks 2010), the equipment used to gather data was small and unobtrusive and offered the advantage of improved accuracy for transcriptions (Bryman and Bell 2007). Where face-to-face interviews are not possible, for instance, due to time and cost of travel, videoconferencing technology, such as Skype, was preferred over telephone interviews because of the availability of visual, as well as verbal, cues (Bryman 2008). Digital audio recordings need to be transcribed into document format and several software packages, such as ExpressScribe, are available to facilitate

this work. Using an additional foot pedal makes transcription quicker and allows for more accurate transcriptions. Verbatim transcription was favoured because of the high level of accuracy of data, although repetitions of speech, false starts and backchannels (e.g. mm-hmm etc.) were skipped because these are only pertinent where a more detailed conversational-type analysis is required (Paulus et al 2013; Bryman 2008).

The chosen method of analysis was thematic. As outlined above (5.5), and in accordance with Critical Realist (CR) research strategy, research questions were formulated during the course of the literature review and development of the theoretical framework which then formed the themes for the interview and focus group questionnaires. Following the iterative research process suggested by CR where inquiry moves between abstract theory and empirical enquiry (5.4.3), interview questions and research questions were further refined in relation to data emerging from the fieldwork. Further refinement of themes also took place during the analysis phase. One challenge of qualitative research is dealing with the large amount of data generated (Bryman and Bell 2007) and a process of thematic segmentation of data was used in order to manage this process (Guest et al 2011; Grbich 2012). There are a number of qualitative data analysis software packages available to help manage thematic segmentation, including NVIVO (among others), although software packages can be cumbersome and result in too much abstraction of the data from the context (Guest et al 2011). Thematic data analysis can be carried out in word processing packages, such as Microsoft Word, by developing a thematic index and inserting relevant data segments from the interviews, focus groups and documents under the appropriate themes. All relevant data for each theme can then be analysed to identify the salient points. Thematic data analysis using Microsoft Word was the preferred method because the researcher was already experienced in this method of analysis.

5.6 Research Ethics and Implications for the Research

This section considers the ethical implications of the research. Bell and Wray-Bliss (2009) argue that research ethics have now generally become formalised in such things as codes of practice and University Ethics Committees which provide advice and codes of practice on ethical issues in research generally covering a number of areas, including:

avoidance or minimisation of physical or psychological harm; informed consent; privacy and confidentiality; avoidance of deception, and avoidance of conflict of interest (Bell and Wray-Bliss 2009; Bryman 2008; Kvale 2007). For instance, the ESRC has a Framework for Research Ethics (RFE), which is regularly reviewed and updated. The current FRE (2010) summary is cited below:

Exhibit 5.1: Principles, procedures and minimum requirements of the Framework for Research Ethics (FRE) Economic and Social Research Council

There are six key principles of ethical research that the ESRC expects to be addressed whenever applicable:

1. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality and transparency.
2. Research staff and participants must normally be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved. Some variation is allowed in very specific research contexts for which detailed guidance is provided.
3. The confidentiality of information supplied by research participants and the anonymity of respondents must be respected.
4. Research participants must take part voluntarily, free from any coercion.
5. Harm to research participants and researchers must be avoided in all instances.
6. The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit.

Source: ESRC (2010)

This research adheres to these principles as well as the British Sociological Association Code of Practice on Ethical Standards of Research (British Sociological Association, 2017), and has received approval from the Heriot-Watt University Ethics Committee. Research protocols were established which entailed providing: written documentation to participants about the project, outlining provisions for ethics, confidentiality and data protection and use of data; a website with further information; a consent form (see Appendix B).

While adhering to formal ethical standards is considered important for this research, it is also the intention here to go beyond these standards and embrace an ethically integrated approach that is supported by a CR position. Earlier in this chapter (5.4.2), it was argued that the 'fact-value' dichotomy is flawed and that social reality and social sciences are imbued with values which should not be ignored in an attempt to appear 'objective'. To do so would be to miss an important part of the explanation of social phenomena as well as to cast the researcher as an objective observer rather than somebody who is also part of the social world (Sayer 2012; Bhaskar 1998). Taking up this point, Bell and Wray-Bliss (2009) argue that the ideal of detachment and distance of the researcher from the subject is reflected in research conventions such as writing in the third person. However, the distance created between subject and researcher is artificial as researchers cannot avoid being part of and interacting with the social world. The conventional view owns that participants in research are passive 'subjects' who 'have things done to them' (Lincoln and Guba, 1989, cited in Bell and Wray-Bliss 2009, p. 84) but Birch and Millar (2002) note an increasing trend away from using the term 'subject' towards using the term 'participant' in order to emphasise a positive and participatory relationship between researcher and the participant. However, Birch and Millar (2002) also note that there are issues around the meaning and extent of 'participation' in research and 'participatory research' generally requires those studied to be involved in part or all of the research process (Bergold and Thomas 2012; Silver 2008). However, as Silver (2008) also notes, all research to some extent involves the participation of those being researched.

In order to acknowledge that the distinction between the researcher and those being researched is not as clear-cut as conventional traditions would imply and that some level of participation and co-operation is required by those being studied, this thesis will adopt the convention of referring to those who are being studied as 'participants'. However, the current study does not go so far as to claim that it constitutes 'participatory research' since, strictly speaking, this would generally entail more involvement of participants than was realistic for the purposes of this research (see Silver 2008; Bergold and Thomas 2012). In addition, in order to further address some of these issues, Bell and Wray-Bliss (2009) recommend reflexivity and transparency in the process of the re-

search and this advice was adhered to as far as possible during the course of the fieldwork. To these ends, the research process involved regular reflection which was recorded in a research journal and, in order to ensure transparency, research protocol was also established (see above) and was widely disseminated to research participants.

5.7 The Case Study Organisations

This section turns to the case study organisations (CSOs) that took part in the research. Firstly, the rationale for selecting the case studies is described and then, secondly, how the case studies were structured, including the respondents who took part. The third part of this section outlines the interview topics covered with participants, and finally, the last part provides a brief overview of each of the CSOs and provides details of the fieldwork.

5.7.1 Rationale for Selecting the Case Study Organisations: Purposeful Sampling

A purposive sample of third sector organisations in Scotland was selected for this research and the selection of case studies was restricted to Scotland to ensure that organisations were operating within the same broad policy context. Given the complex policy picture since devolution selecting organisations within the same UK region may be advisable in order to avoid excessive background complexity that may have different implications on organisations across the UK. In addition, travel costs were also a consideration.

The research also aimed to include organisations of varying sizes in order to provide contrasting perspectives. The research aimed to recruit one small organisation (fewer than 50 employees), 1 medium sized organisation (50-250 employees), and 1 large organisation (over 250 employees). The criteria for selection also focused on organisations who focused on human-facing activities (rather than animals or the environment etc.), in particular working with vulnerable or disadvantaged social groups, that were not umbrella bodies, and delivered direct public services.

Selection of potential case study organisations was carried out by utilising the OSCR database of registered charities in Scotland. However, this did not include all the information required to select potential case studies: in particular, number of employees is not recorded and so total income was used as a proxy of size instead. In addition, the researcher had worked with some organisations in the sector previously as part of a funded research project (e.g. see Osborne et al 2012) and since the characteristics of these organisations were known, these organisations formed the first basis for selection. In addition, using established contacts within the sector made access more probable than ‘cold calling’ an unknown organisation.

A small TSO which was known to the researcher through a previous research project was approached initially to take part in the pilot case study (LARCH). Following the completion of the pilot case study, two large organisations were approached and asked to take part but both declined. One of the large organisations was approached because it was known to be affected by the Social Care (Self-Directed Support) (Scotland) Bill 2012 and, since the organisation declined to take part and no further organisations were known to be directly affected by the Bill at that time, the effects of ‘personalisation’ were not included as a dimension of interest in the research study (see Chapter two 2.3.6). Two medium sized organisations were approached, and one was recruited (“SYCAMORE”). Finally, a further small organisation (FERN) was approached because of its difference to LARCH in its governance, structure, area of work, and geographical location

5.7.2 Structure of the Case Studies

In the first instance, initial email contact was made with an established contact and this was then followed up with a face-to-face meeting to inform the contact more about what would be involved for the organisation taking part, and where appropriate, to discuss fieldwork arrangements. Relevant documentary evidence was gathered, e.g. organisation annual reports, information on services, job roles, descriptions and specifications and a first interview was then sought with a senior manager in order to establish or re-establish an overview of the organisation, the policy context and the organisation’s relationships with key stakeholders.

Further interviews and (for the pilot only) focus groups were carried out with employees at different levels and different sites in the organisation, including:

- HRM specialist (where available, otherwise, staff with responsibility for HRM);
- Board members
- Middle and line managers;
- Employee delivering services to clients.

5.7.3 Interview and Focus Group Schedules

The research questions (identified at the summaries for Chapters Two, Three and Four and summarised in Chapter One) guided the development of an outline semi-structured interview/focus group schedule and the questions were designed to be both accessible to participants and to elicit responses that could be used to inform the research questions. The outline schedule was deliberately generic so that it could be used with all participants in both one-to-one interviews and with focus groups. However, the specific focus of the questioning was tailored to the participants and their individual roles within the CSOs. For instance, with senior managers, more focus was placed on questions about policy, politics and organisational values, whereas with front-line workers, the focus was more on the specifics of their jobs. Interviewing in one-to-one interviews was also open to individual participants' interests and concerns and, while remaining rooted in the questions on the schedule, allowed participants to dwell in more detail on some topics than others.

The outline schedule was piloted within LARCH and used in both one-to-one interviews and in two focus groups. Both focus groups were limited in terms of time available and therefore the scope of topics that were covered in-depth was limited and focused on particular key issues of relevance to the particular group (e.g. the focus group with Board Members focused on governance and the organisational level while the focus group with FLWs (including one service manager) focused on the values and motivations of FLWs). One-to-one interviews were favoured over focus groups for reasons outlined earlier (see 5.5.4) and only one-to-one interviews were carried out within the other CSOs.

The same outline interview schedule was used within all the CSOs, although findings that emerged during the course of the fieldwork were fed back into the research design. Small adjustments were made to the outline schedule, thus adopting Yin's (2007) 'feedback loop' (see 5.5.3 above), and the generic design of the schedule meant the schedule was flexible enough to make adjustments quickly in response to emerging findings. The outline interview schedule is provided in Appendix A.

In accordance with ethnical principles, prior to interview or focus group, each participant was given information about the project and a very brief outline of topics to be covered in the interview in order to orientate participants to the topic of interest. This information also served to raise the topic of 'values' in the minds of participants and promote some reflection on the topic since values may often be held tacitly (see 5.3 and Sayer 2000). Participants were also invited to ask any questions about the study or their involvement in the study at the beginning of interviews or focus groups.

The interview schedule began by introducing the researcher and the research, explaining confidentiality arrangements for the project and requesting permission to audio record the interview. The first section of the interview schedule focused on 'organisational values' and sought to gather evidence on formal and informal organisational values and the participant's perspective on the values. The first section asked if and why the values were important to the organisation, if values had undergone any changes and about any challenges values had faced in order to ascertain the external and internal contexts which might have an impact on organisational values.

The second section of the interview schedule asked for participants' views on wider political and policy influences that had an impact on the organisation, organisational values and challenges to values. This section was probed further in interviews with participants who had a strategic role in the organisations such as senior managers, line managers, board members, union representatives and human resource representatives (where appropriate) on the assumption they were likely to have a broader perspective because of their positions in the organisation.

In order to provide an overview of the employee's relationship to other actors in their social fields, section three asked about relationships with partners and the extent to which partners shared their own values. This section particularly focused on identifying Strategic Action Fields within which organisations and workers operated.

The fourth section of the interview schedule 'About Your Job' was particularly targeted to FLWs in order to collect data on motivations, values conflicts and strategies to help deal with the conflicts and this section formed the basis of the interviews with FLWs. In order to deal with some of the difficulties related to defining 'values' (as identified earlier in this chapter in 5.2) this section of the interview schedule invited FLWs to discuss the 'challenges' or 'conflicts' they faced in their roles rather than asking directly about 'value conflicts' since values held may be vague and/or held tacitly (Sayer 2000). Analysis by the researcher determined later the extent to which the 'challenges' and 'conflicts' outlined by FLWs could be understood in terms of 'value conflicts'. In addition, participants were asked to detail concrete examples of values conflicts experienced where possible in order to identify values in practice. Section Four also sought to identify strategies that FLWs used to help cope or manage with the 'challenges' and 'conflicts' they faced, particularly in the light of the work of Lipsky (2010 [1980]). Different groups in an organisation may hold different sets of values, and the final section of the interview schedule 'Colleagues and Partners' sought to determine the range of internal groups with which an individual had contact and to what extent different groups shared values and priorities. The purpose of this section was also to provide evidence for the role of values in social Identity processes.

5.7.4 Profile of case study organisations

This section introduces the individual CSOs with the aim of familiarising the reader with their general structure and purpose as well as providing details about the employees within the organisation who took part in the research. Further cross-case comparisons and in-depth analysis are presented in the next chapter.

LARCH

Established in 1979, LARCH was a small third sector organisation employing 22 staff (mainly part-time). The organisation was registered as a charity with the Office of the Scottish Charity Regular and in the financial year to 2013 had an income totalling £718,223. Most of their income came from public sector bodies which funded the provision of services in Scotland and the main funders included local authorities with some core funding also provided by the Scottish Government.

LARCH had a head office based in Edinburgh where the Chief Executive, administration and support team, Finance, Policy and one senior manager were based. Two Regional Managers were based from home in the North and South of Scotland and supported eight front-line workers who were based in (mostly) different local authority areas around Scotland, including in the Highlands and Central Belt. Many front-line workers were based from home and worked in community locations and sometimes carried out home visits to clients. During the course of the fieldwork the organisation also began recruiting a small number of sessional workers but these were not included in the case study. Most staff, including front-line workers and the Chief Executive worked either three or four days a week.

The organisation provided support for a particular and vulnerable client group, adults with learning disabilities, and work was organised through local front-line workers who both provided direct services and access to services for clients as well as managing volunteers to also carry out these functions. The balance between the Co-ordinator working directly with clients and managing volunteers to work with clients varied between local areas and co-ordinators.

This organisation was approached to take part in the pilot case study because the organisation had been involved in a previous research project with which the researcher was involved and because of its small size (22 staff, mostly part-time), its being based in Scotland, its support for a vulnerable client group (disabled people and their carers) and its dispersed peripatetic workforce.

Fieldwork took place between June and September 2014. In total, 13 participants took part in either an interview or a focus group, with additional employees and board members being observed during a pre-scheduled board meeting. This included: the Chief Executive; three Board members; Senior Manager, Head Office; Regional Manager; Seven front-line Workers. See Table 5.1 (below) for a summary of the respondents by role. All the interviews and focus groups were recorded (with written permission from participants) and transcribed. Observation notes were taken at the Board Meeting and later typed up and informal observations and notes were recorded at the beginning of the relevant transcriptions. Documentary evidence was also collected and reviewed and included: information on LARCH website; LARCH Organisational chart; LARCH Annual Report; LARCH Strategic Plan; Job Descriptions and Role Descriptions.

SYCAMORE

Operating for over 40 years, SYCAMORE started out as a number of locally managed services in Scotland which formed into an Association under a unified name in 1971 and merged into a single organisation in 1992. The organisation is registered as a charity with the Office of the Scottish Charity Regular and in the financial year to 2014 (Annual Report 2013/14) the organisation had an income totalling £8M. The bulk of funding came through local authority funding (nearly £5M), with most of the remainder coming via Scottish Government (£2.9M).

SYCAMORE provided over 60 services across 22 locations in Scotland to a variety of clients including perpetrators and victims of crime. In total SYCAMORE employed 253 staff in February 2015 (figures provided by HR, 2015) including 36 per cent on full-time contracts, 32 per cent on part-time contracts and 32 per cent on sessional contracts. The organisation had a head office based in Edinburgh where the Senior Management and support services, such as HR, finance and IT, were based. Services were managed within eleven broad regional geographical areas (these were not restricted to single local authority areas and included up to 3 local authority areas) and regional offices varied greatly in size, from areas including a single small office with up to around eight staff members, to larger regional offices which also included smaller satellite local offices.

Two Regional offices took part in the case study including a small regional office (SYCAMORE Coppice) based in one central location and a larger regional office SYCAMORE Glen Central (whose smaller satellite office - SYMAMORE Glen North - also took part).

SYCAMORE Coppice consisted of a part-time Service Manager (30 hours), 8 permanent workers operating across 5 different services (all full-time time except two members of staff), a part time administrator and a sessional worker. SYCAMORE Central had a full-time Service Manager and 2 Team Leaders and the Service Manager and one of the Team Leaders also managed two further satellite offices including SYCAMORE North. The other Team Leader had been very recently promoted to take over some of the workload of the existing Team Leader for some of the services based at Central Office. Five services operated across the area, with around 18 permanent and 2 sessional front-line workers based at the Central Office. Five permanent staff members were based at one office in SYCAMORE North, covering 3 services.

All fieldwork was carried out through one-to-one interviews which took place between April and June 2015. In total, 5 members of staff (4 Service Workers and the Service Manager) at Coppice took part in interviews. At Glen Central, 11 staff participated in the research (these included Service Workers, Service Support Workers and the 2 Team Leaders) and 4 staff were interviewed at Glen North (Service Workers and Service Support Workers). All interviews took place at the offices where staff were based except in the case of Glen North where a room in a nearby resource centre was used. See Table 5.1 (below) for a summary of the respondents by role.

FERN

FERN was established in 1981 to create work for disadvantaged people and had arms that operated as a charity and as social enterprises. The charity provided employability services to vulnerable and disadvantaged clients (people with physical or mental issues), while the social enterprises consisted of two separate businesses, one which operated as a consultancy, the other as a laundry. In addition, the Laundry provided opportunities for work placements, training and supported employment. Both the social enterprise and the charity shared core support services such as Human Resources, Finance and Catering and were based on one site in a city in Scotland. FERN employed around

78 staff in total, of which 47 were in supported employment (January 2015, interview with Director) and in 2013, total income to FERN was just over £3M, with £2.1M coming from government funding (mostly from the local authority within which FERN was based). Income from trading made up a relatively small proportion of total income (£159,000) (OSCR 2014).

The case study focused on the charity part of FERN which directly employed 11 people providing employability support and services (none of these posts were supported employment posts). The management structure consisted of the Director of Employability Services, a Senior Manager, and a Team Leader who oversaw eight Employment Advisors across three separate employability projects. The majority of the Advisors (6) were attached to one specific project, Consortium, which, in partnership with three other local providers, provided employability support to people with physical and mental health issues. Another Advisor ran a project providing Supported Employment, and the final Advisor provided specialised employability support working with clients who were very hard to get into work.

Ten of the 11 staff (all the management team and 7 of the Employment Advisors) involved in the charity arm of FERN took part in an in-depth interview between June and July 2015. All interviews took place on site at FERN offices. The case study took place between May and 1 July 2015. A total of 10 employees took part in the case study, all one-to-one interviews. These included: Director x 1; Senior Manager x 1; Team Leader x 1; Front line workers x 7.

Table 5.1 (below) summarises the numbers of respondents who took part in the research by their role and organisation.

Table 5.1: Profile of Case Study Respondents by Role

	LARCH	SYCAMORE	FERN	TOTAL
Board Members	0 [3]			3
Chief Executives/Senior Manager	1	1	1	3
HR Representative		1		1
Union Representative		1		1
Service Managers/Team Leaders	1 [2]	4	2	8
Front-line staff	3 [7]	15	7	29
TOTAL	13	22	10	45

Note: 'respondents' include participants in one-to-one interviews and focus groups. However, only within the pilot case study (LARCH) did focus groups (two) take place and all participants within SYCAMORE and FERN took part in direct one-to-one interviews. The numbers taking part in one-to-one interviews are the main figures given, with the numbers taking part in focus groups given in brackets. Note also that three front-line staff who took part in a focus group also took part in one-to-one interviews.

Profile of Workers

This section provides a description of the profile of FLWs within the three CSOs. It begins with an examination of the characteristics of the FLWs and then reviews their previous employment backgrounds.

Table 5.2 (below) summarises some of the characteristics of FLWs who were interviewed in the three CSOs. These characteristics include gender, age, whether full-time or part-time and length of time with the CSO. The majority of the workers interviewed in each of the CSOs were female (25 out of a total of 31) which is a higher percentage (84 per cent) than the national figure (68 per cent) (SCVO 2012) although national figures include employees at different levels (senior management are excluded here) and cover a diverse range of organisations. As such, the sample here is not likely to be representative of the workforce, and nor was it intended to be. Although the gender differences in the third sector are significant, this was not a dimension considered in this thesis, partly because of limitations with the sample size, but also for other reasons discussed in 9.4. There was a spread of different ages among workers with workers from each decade represented although the largest groups of workers were in their 40s and 50s

(n=16). SYCAMORE had a higher proportion of younger workers than the other CSOs, but also had more workers in their 60s than other organisations.

The majority of workers worked full-time (n=18), but there were marked differences between the CSOs with all workers at LARCH working part-time, and most workers at FERN working full-time. This difference reflected the fact that workers across LARCH had taken a cut in hours due to funding cuts and FERN was in receipt of funding for a major new project where posts were funded full-time (although one worker opted to work part-time for health reasons).

There was a wide variety in terms of length of time worked for the organisations among the workers. In LARCH, most employees had worked with the organisation for 4 or more years with the exception of two workers who had been in post for less than a year. At FERN, most employees had worked with the organisation for less than 4 years, except for 2 members of staff who had each been with the organisation for over 10 years. At SYCAMORE, there was a range of lengths of times workers had worked with the organisation with some new staff, some very long serving staff and a mixture between two poles.

Table 5.2 Profile of Front-line Workers

Number (n)	LARCH	SYCAMORE	FERN	TOTAL
Female [Male]	7 [0]	12 [5]	6 [1]	25 [6]
Age:				
20-29	1	4	0	5
30-39	1	4	0	5
40-49	2	2	4	8
50-59	3	3	2	8
60-69	0	4	1	5
Part-time [Full-time]	7 [0]	5 [12]	1 [6]	13 [18]
Years with the Organisation:				
Less than 1 year	2	2	2	6
1-2 years	0	3	2	5
2-4 years	0	6	1	7
4-9 years	3	2	0	5
10 years or more	2	4	2	8
TOTAL	7	17	7	31

Among FLWs, roles varied considerably with the only unifying factor being that all FLWs worked directly with clients. Few of the FLWs occupied traditionally recognised professional roles such as social work, teaching or health professional, although some FLWs at SYCAMORE had qualifications in social care or had studied criminology. Therefore, the FLWs in the study do not form a distinct or recognisable professional group, which is attested to by their diverse work experience.

Workers in the three CSOs had come to their current posts from a variety of employment backgrounds (See Table 5.3) and older workers in particular had varied employment experiences prior to their current jobs. At SYCAMORE, a small number (n=2) were in their 20s had come straight from University, although often had experience of voluntary work in the Public Sector or the Third Sector. Workers had experience of working in both the Public Sector and the Third Sector, mostly in work related to their current posts. Some workers also had experience of the private sector (n=6) and most of these were career changers. For instance, one worker had worked as an electrician in the shipbuilding industry for many years before being made redundant over 10 years ago. During this time, the worker had also been involved in voluntary work with children and chose to re-train in Social Care after being made redundant. Now aged 65, this worker had worked as a Residential Care Worker before coming to work with SYCAMORE 3 years ago. The FLWs who took part in the research were therefore drawn from diverse backgrounds and work areas, with few coming from traditional professional backgrounds. There is therefore little on which to base any consideration of 'professional values' associated with particular professional groups, although this may be a fruitful line of research with a different group of FLWs who are drawn from a distinct professional group.

At FERN, many of the workers had experience of working in the private sector, but mostly this was in a similar area of work to what they were doing in their current post, rather than as a career change (there was one exception where the worker had changed careers 16 years previously). This is because there were a significant number of private sector organisations involved in the provision of Employability services, whereas private sector organisations were rare in the field of Criminal Justice (where SYCAMORE was situated). At LARCH, those with previous work experience in the Private sector were both career changers.

Table 5.3 Previous Work Experiences of Front-line Workers

	LARCH*	SYCAMORE	FERN
Education**		2	
Third Sector	1	6	4
Public Sector	1	7	2
Private Sector	2	6	5
TOTAL (n)	3	17	7

**Information on previous work experience was only gathered from 4 workers at LARCH. This was because (a) this study was the pilot study, and (b) some workers participated in a focus group and not an interview and this information was not asked in the focus group.*

***This refers to those workers who had come straight from completing a university course and does not include all workers who had been in education at some point.*

5.8 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to explain and justify the overall research strategy adopted for this thesis. To achieve this purpose, it was necessary to consider the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning this research and to defend the positions using a Critical Realist (CR) approach. The research consequences of adopting a CR approach were considered in relation to theory, research strategy, methodology, methods and analysis of data, ensuring a solid foundation and a methodologically sound and consistent base from which to conduct the research. Case studies were the favoured method of enquiry because of their good fit with a CR, appropriateness for researching organisations, and for the topic of interest in particular. This study's focus on values within a CR framework also had implications for the ethical approach adopted to the fieldwork which were considered, in particular with the consequence that individuals taking part in the research were considered as 'participants' rather than 'subjects'. This chapter also introduced the case study organisations which took part in the research and outlined the rationale for the selection of the organisations, how the case studies were carried out, and the tools used as part of the investigation.

The next stage of the current research involves the presentation of the findings from the three case organisations. However, the findings are divided into two chapters. Chapter Six aims to examine how competing values manifest within different organisational contexts and the findings focus on the contexts and values conflicts that are evidenced at the broader organisational level Chapter Seven aims to examine values and value conflicts among front-line workers (FLWs) and to identify: the sources of conflicts; the extent to which values are shared within and between groups within organisations, and

how individuals manage value conflicts. As such, Chapter Seven focuses on the experiences of front-line workers, looking at their values, identity and value conflicts experienced.

CHAPTER SIX: THE CASE STUDY ORGANISATIONS – CONTEXTS AND VALUE CONFLICTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter and the next chapter (Chapter Seven) present the findings from the research drawing on data gathered during fieldwork carried out with the three CSOs. This chapter focuses on introducing the CSOs in more depth and, in particular, on examining the value conflicts experienced at organisational level, while Chapter Seven shines a spotlight on value conflicts experienced by front-line workers (FLWs) across the CSOs. This chapter aims to examine a key research question that emerged from the review of literature and development of the theoretical framework in previous chapters:

How do the tensions between different values in organisations manifest in particular contexts?

This chapter focuses on the three case study organisations (CSOs) and the differences between them. Each CSOs is examined separately to gain insights into the importance of the different contexts that exist between the organisations, and the implications for how value conflicts manifest within different organisations. This chapter also provides the basis for the next chapter in that the organisational contexts and the conflicts that manifest at organisational level identified in this chapter form the environment within which FLWs operate and experience their own value conflicts which are examined in the next chapter.

Firstly, this chapter briefly introduces the three CSOs outlining some of the basic similarities and differences between them in terms of purpose, remits and structure. This chapter then takes each CSO in turn, outlining the background and context of each individual organisation, including the formal organisational values pertaining in each CSO before examining how private sector values and person-centred values conflicts are manifested in each CSO. The chapter ends with a conclusion that external pressures can manifest in different ways within different organisations, but that the basic value conflict in all cases revolves around (actual or perceived) conflict between a ‘client-focused’ approach and a ‘business-orientated’ approach.

Note the following conventions adopted for the presentation of quotes by participants: The role of participants within the CSOs is stated in the identification of the quote except for FLWs. If no role position is stated then the quote should be assumed to be by a FLW.

All quotes are from one-to-one interviews unless otherwise stated (e.g. focus group, observation of board meeting). The length of service of participants within SYCAMORE is stated in some instances where this is appropriate to the point being made, i.e. in relation to 'nostalgia', but otherwise length of service is not referred to because it is not considered relevant to the particular points being addressed.

6.2 The Case Study Organisations (CSOs)

The three CSOs that took part in the research were of small to medium size and all provided publicly funded services to vulnerable or disadvantaged clients in Scotland. The organisations differed from each other in that they occupied different work areas and provided different services to different client groups. There was potential for some overlap of clients particularly between SYCAMORE and FERN since the main client group at SYCAMORE (ex-offenders) may also potentially seek employability services (FERN's speciality). However, in reality, there was no overlap between the organisations because of they operated in different geographical areas. Table 6.1 summarises the key structural features of each organisation.

Table 6.1: Key Structural Features of the Case Study Organisations

	LARCH	SYCAMORE	FERN
Size (employed staff)	Small (22)	Medium (253)	Small (78)
Geographical coverage	National (Head Office, plus peripatetic workers in different regions)	National (Head Office, plus 22 locations)	Local (based on one site)
Work area	Adult Education	Criminal Justice	Employability
Main client group	Adults with disabilities	Ex-offenders, young people, neighbours in dispute	People with mental and physical health issues seeking employment
Services	Learner Support Service	Support & Rehabilitation Services Mediation Services	Employability Support Service Supported Employment Service

Source: Fieldwork

LARCH was the smallest of the three CSOs employing twenty-two employees and provided learning support services to disabled adults in a number of different regions across Scotland. FERN was a small third sector organisation (although larger than LARCH) operating within one single local authority area in Scotland. FERN employed 78 employees across different ‘arms’ including a charity arm (providing employability services) and two social enterprise arms (providing supported employment to people with mental and physical health issues and a consultancy). SYCAMORE was a medium-sized TSO (two hundred and fifty-three employees), and the largest in the study, and provided criminal justice services to a range of clients (particularly ex-offenders, young people and neighbours in dispute) in many areas of Scotland.

The difference in size of the organisations was also reflected in the income of the institutions. SYCAMORE received the largest annual income (£8M) and LARCH the smallest (£460,000) in the financial year 2013/14 (See Table 6.2 below). All organisations relied heavily on public funding to provide their services with government funding forming 94 per cent of LARCH’s total income and 98 per cent of SYCAMORE’s income although government funding made up a smaller but still high percentage of FERN’s income (69 per cent). A high proportion of public income and the delivering public services are characteristics associated with public sector organisations and confirmed that these CSOs were ‘hybrid’ organisations (Billis 2010) which are likely to have competing ‘institutional logics’ derived from their different public and third sector characteristics (Skelcher and

Smith 2013). However, FERN occupies a different hybrid ‘zone’ to LARCH and SYCAMORE. While LARCH and SYCAMORE occupy the Third Sector/Public Sector hybrid zone because they are TSOs which deliver public services, FERN occupies the Third Sector/Public Sector/Private Sector hybrid zone because in addition to being TSOs delivering public services, they also operated social enterprises which traded in the market place (See Figure 2.2 previously).

Table 6.2: Total Income by Source

	LARCH	SYCAMORE	FERN
TOTAL Income £	462,245	8,075,000	£3,052,801*
£ (%) from Local authorities	278,019 (60%)	5,032,000 (62%)	
£ (%) from Scottish Government	154,742 (34%)	2,888,000 (36%)	
£ (%) Total Government Funding	432,761 (94%)	7,920,000 (98%)	£2,114,099 (69%)
£ (%) Other Funding**	9,493 (2%)	0	744,746 (24%)
£ (%) Private income***	4,519 (1%)	155,000 (2%)	158,956 (5%)
£ (%) Voluntary Income****	15,227 (3%)	0	35,000 (1%)
Source	<i>Annual Report 2014</i>	<i>Annual Review 2013-2014</i>	<i>OSCR 2013</i>

*OSCR figures are not broken down between Local authority and Scottish Government funding

**Other Funding, e.g. Charitable Trusts, Big Lottery, European funding & other public bodies (colleges, etc.)

***Private income, e.g. income from consultancy, trading, investments, rents, interest payments etc.

****Voluntary income, e.g. income from voluntary donations, bequests

6.3 FERN

6.3.1 Background and Context

FERN was a small local Third sector organisation (See Table 6.1 and Table 6.2) comprising different organisational arms that operated as a charity and as social enterprises. The charity (FERN Charity) provided employability services to vulnerable and disadvantaged clients (people with physical and mental health issues), while the social enterprises consisted of two separate businesses, one of which operated as a consultancy (FERN Consultancy), the other as a laundry (FERN Laundry). In addition, the Laundry provided

opportunities for work placements, training and supported employment. Both the social enterprise and the charity shared core support services such as Human Resources, Finance and Catering. Based on one site in a city in Scotland, FERN as a whole employed around seventy-eight staff in total (January 2015, interview with Director) and the case study was carried out with FERN Charity which directly employed eleven people (Director, Senior Manager, Line Manager and eight Front-line workers).

FERN had been successful in maintaining similar levels of funding for its services during the previous six years but FERN had faced financial challenges in the continued operation of its social enterprise businesses due to withdrawal of subsidies from the local authority, as well as difficult trading conditions. With constant uncertainty around future funding, the organisation as a whole continued to prepare itself for reduced funding, for instance by seeking to establish the Laundry as financially self-sustaining.

6.3.2 Shifting Organisational Values

The values of FERN Charity (as described on FERN website 2015) focused on supporting disadvantaged people in the local area into employment and were underpinned by the belief that the economic and emotional wellbeing of individuals was best provided through participation in work (see Exhibit 6.1 below). The formal values and objectives of FERN had experienced some changes in recent years. Previously the organisation had focused on a specific client group, namely those with mental health issues, but had broadened the client group to include all disabilities. This change was related to changing funding circumstances for local employability services where the local authority funder now required delivery organisations to adopt a 'pan-disability' approach (working with clients with diverse and multiple disabilities). Another change was a move by funders towards a more target- or outcome-focused approach, where front-line workers were required to meet set targets for getting clients into employment, training or education. A Senior Manager at FERN reported that the organisation had changed its articles of constitution a couple of years previously in order to support the new values and objectives that allowed the organisation to work with a wider group of clients:

The organisation has broadened its remit out....changed its articles probably about two or two and a half years ago, maybe three years to allow it to work

with pan-disability, which was quite a change away from just being mental health, which was probably quite a good move...the organisation could work with a much greater number of people, in a more creative way. Andrew, Senior Manager, FERN

These changes in emphasis were also evident in two different objectives statements. One from the Annual Report 2012/2013 and the other from the organisational website (accessed 23/10/15). See Exhibit 6.1 (below).

Exhibit 6.1: Organisational Values at FERN

The objects of the organisation are to:

- Relieve the suffering and distress of individuals with mental health problems or recovering from mental illness or who otherwise face social exclusion, the effect of which is to limit their opportunities for meaningful employment by the establishment and operation of supported work schemes and by the provision of various facilities and services in the community and to relieve the need of such persons.

Source: Annual Report 2012/13

.....

Our primary focus as a charity is to provide employability support to those experiencing disadvantage through unemployment and who live in [Town]. The Employability Services team is the part of [FERN] which provides individuals with the opportunity to develop their employability skills to enable them to gain employment, a place in training or education, or volunteering.

Source: FERN website accessed 23/10/15

The first statement from the Annual Report 2012/13 is very specific regarding the target client group as individuals affected by mental health problems or illness and had no specific objective to get clients into work, but only to 'relieve the suffering and distress' which limit their ability to work. The statement on the 2015 website, however, is much more general about the client group and includes all potential clients experiencing disadvantage through unemployment, not just those with mental health problems. While the 2015 statement still does not state the direct aim of employment for client, it moves much closer by specifically stating that the organisation aims to develop skills in order to 'enable' clients to move into employment, training, education or volunteering.

Management reported that the changes in values at FERN had been in response to changes in the funding of local employability services. The local authority funding structure had undergone change around four years previously and this change had prompted FERN to move towards an outcomes-based approach (achieving targets based on outcomes). However, management at FERN were also keen to maintain the person-centred approach and were acutely aware of the challenges of reconciling the two approaches. For instance, there was some concern among management that funders were increasingly focused on clients going into jobs without looking at the broader, 'holistic' picture of the client, but management in FERN Charity were determined to maintain the client focus and, as Claire, a Director at FERN explained, not to *'push clients into a job until they are ready and it is the right job and they have the right support'* (Claire, Director, FERN). A line manager (as well as FLWs) also confirmed that the essence of organisational values manifested in terms of providing a 'person-centred' approach:

What I think when I think of FERN is...it's client-centred. It's providing the best service for whoever wants to access it...and every client receives the same standard of service. If you meet someone who's not going to be your outcome for that month, you don't park them, you spend the time to build them up...It's providing a service that's needed to the people who need it the most. Natalie, Line Manager, FERN

As was outlined in Chapter Four (4.5.1), a 'client-focused' approach may come into conflict with some 'private-sector' logics such as cost-cutting, or in this particular case, targets, since targets (or a focus on client outcomes) may change the focus away from the needs of the client towards achieving set targets, but, as demonstrated in the example above, management sought to avoid a value conflict and reconcile the two approaches. One specific example of how FERN balanced a 'client-focused' approach with an outcomes element was through the service provided by the 'Consortium' project. The bulk of the funding at FERN Charity was for 'Consortium' which was a four-year project funded by the local authority and delivered in partnership with three other third sector delivery partners. FERN was just three months into this four-year contract when the fieldwork took place and six out of eight front-line staff within FERN Charity where em-

ployed on 'Consortium'. 'Consortium' included features that would not have been compatible with FERN's previous statement of values and objectives (FERN Annual Report 2012/13), but were in line with the more recent statement of values and objectives (FERN website, accessed October 2015). These new features included a focus on employment outcomes and a broadening out of the client group to pan-disability (covering a wide range of disabilities).

The 'Consortium' contract stipulated that payments to FERN were based on two criteria: thirty per cent of the funding allocation was based on specific outcomes achieved by clients (e.g. gaining employment and/or sustaining employment for a period of time); the other seventy per cent was based on work carried out with the client (such as training and development). Management considered that much higher than thirty per cent allocated by employment outcomes could be potentially detrimental to a 'client-focused' approach since front-line staff might be incentivised to push clients towards employment before clients were ready or push clients into inappropriate employment in order to meet employment outcomes targets. The 30/70 split, however, was considered by management to be a reasonable balance between work-based and outcome-based funding and that this funding balance would be unlikely to undermine a 'client-focused' approach with clients, who often had multiple and complex issues that front-line workers had to address. Management felt that this funding arrangement allowed them to continue to work in a client-focused way, whilst also having an outcomes-element (which satisfied funders). Having an outcomes-element was even considered by management to be potentially beneficial by incentivising front-line workers and giving clients a clear goal to aim for, as Line Manager Natalie explained:

I think it [the work with clients] has to be focused because otherwise there's no urgency, there's no structure to it, which I think clients need. If they come in here, they want somebody to say, we're going to do this, this, this and this and this will achieve this, rather than just, come in and talk to me for 6 months.
Natalie, Line Manager, FERN

Ensuring the survival of the organisation was a key reason for FERN's particular response to external pressures because as a small and specialised local provider in a large and

crowded field of Employability Services, FERN faced intense pressures to adapt to environmental changes. In particular, the local authority was a key funder of services and had dictated that employability funding would be available in one large single award rather than in several smaller awards as had been the case previously and this had necessitated FERN establishing a Consortium with three other third sector employability providers in the local area in order to bid for the award. Originally, there had been six TSOs involved in the Consortium negotiations, but two had pulled out because the Delivery Model specified by the local authority did not fit with their organisational models (for instance, the Delivery Model required that employment be the ultimate goal of clients, whereas previously, being involved in training might have been a sufficient end goal in itself). One of the two organisations that had pulled out subsequently lost Local Authority funding and closed down and so, not complying with the requirements of the Local Authority could potentially threaten organisational survival as a Director was all too aware of:

Even in terms of the negotiations, we [the Consortium partners] were all on the same page, we need to be in this, we need to win this, otherwise three organisations would have potentially disappeared. So, it's a huge incentive.
Claire, Director, FERN

FERN was clearly under intense pressure within the local Employability Services field and if FERN had not shifted their values in response to these pressures, at best, they would have faced a significant reduction in funding and, at worst, may have had to close down operations altogether.

Earlier this section showed that despite the changes in values and objectives, FERN was keen to hold onto what was perceived to be the 'core' value of the 'person-centred' approach. Values had shifted only in so far as this value could be maintained and other core values that had had to be amended (such as single focus on mental health issues) were ultimately considered peripheral to this. The Delivery Model specified by the LA in the Consortium Project was accepted by management at FERN because it was perceived that this did not threaten the 'person-centred' value, as Director Claire outlined:

[The Delivery Model]...allows us to take as long as we need to put somebody into a job and when we put them in we can do things like job coaching, we can do things like in-work support, we can work with the employer to develop the employer skills around about managing an employee who has a disability and the [Delivery] model allows us to do that, so that's why we have got the seventy per cent up front and then the thirty per cent as outcome based, and having that level of focus because it's a very person-centred model. Claire, Director, FERN

Despite intense pressures within the Employability Services field, FERN management retained the centrality of the organisational value of a 'person-centred' approach to the delivery of their services. In order to do so they had redefined what where the key values of the organisation and decided that while some values could be compromised (e.g. the focus on mental health and introducing an outcomes element), this one could not. The 'person-centred' approach was so central to the organisation that the Director stated that the organisation specifically looked for front-line staff who exhibited characteristics and values of wanting to help and support people in a 'client-focused' way:

Probably for me the most important thing with staff is that they value the clients in whichever circumstances they're in and that they act as the client's cheerleader or advocate and that they are supportive of the client to reach their aspirations. I always say that we can teach people how to be Employment Advisors.... we can tell you the mechanics of how to get somebody a job, but if you don't have heart and you don't have soul, then there's nothing I can do, so I think for me the values are very intrinsic in that I want people who care. I want people who have compassion. I want people who will share people's aspirations and who will be supportive, who will value the clients and who will respect the clients' choices when they come in. Claire, Director, FERN

Senior management in FERN also wanted the organisation to see itself as a 'forward-looking' Third sector organisation which recognised the reality of the changing environment (the Scottish and UK policy environment more generally and the local employability services in particular) and was flexible enough to shift focus in response to the changing environment. This was evidenced by a Director at FERN who recounted how she

had refocused the organisation (front line workers in particular) to anticipate more outcomes-based funding prior to outcomes being actually required by funders:

I've been talking about this move since I came here six years ago...I said to them, we need to get this model right, because at some point the council are going to start tendering all of their services including ours and I think the first couple of years, people were like 'No, she's talking a load of nonsense' but then when [the] council put out the homelessness tender and then they put out the care tender, then people started to think 'yeah, this is going to happen', so I've been working and preparing my staff for this move for a long time ... Claire, Director, FERN

Being forward-looking and attempting to anticipate changes were characteristics also exercised by senior managers at FERN who continued to anticipate further changes in the future and had been considering the consequences and opportunities that might emerge from further changes to funding structures depending on the changing relationship between the UK and Scotland (for instance, following the Independence vote in September 2014 and further promised devolved powers to Scotland). For instance, senior managers hoped that there might be the potential to expand their services to further geographical areas as another senior manager, Andrew, explained:

If there is an opportunity to go and look at things, particularly things like [name of particularly fund] in other parts of the country and learn from them, then we should be a little more outward looking, rather than just "we only do what we do in [town]"'. Andrew, Senior Manager, FERN

In addition, management contrasted their approach to that of other third sector organisations who were considered to be inflexible and not willing to adapt to environmental changes. Other third sector organisations were criticised for what FERN management perceived to be failures to adapt to changes in the environment and described some organisations as *'their own worst enemy'* (Claire, Director, FERN) because they complained about not being involved in new government programmes (she specifically mentioned the Work Programme) but were not prepared to compromise and adapt when they had the opportunity to become involved. For instance, the Director criticised some

in the third sector for their unwillingness to change the way they operated which would allow them to generate a financial surplus:

I know that the voluntary sector sometimes thinks that 'surplus' is a dirty word but you have to have surpluses to invest in your staff training and in equipment and materials in which provide improved services. So yeah, I always aim to have a surplus. Claire, Director, FERN

However, management in FERN also wanted to be able to distinguish the organisation from other service providers, particularly those in the private sector who were perceived to embody an approach that valued money and profits above people and did not embody a 'client-centred' approach that was so important to their own organisational identity. FERN had recently worked in partnership with a private sector service provider to deliver services (FERN had worked with the private sector provider for a relatively short period of time (about a year) and had ended the partnership (for financial reasons) about a year prior to the fieldwork taking place - May/June 2015) and the Director contrasted the private sector providers approach to FERN's approach:

My Advisors worked with them [clients] in a different way than they were experiencing in other organisations like [Private Sector Provider]. We were supportive of them [clients]. We didn't do the scattergun approach where you sit down and you send out 200 CVs in a week because there is nothing more demoralising than you writing 50, 100, 200 spec letters and getting nothing back. We would much rather have a much more targeted approach...so we would go down that little bit further and again it's about finding the right job for the right person at the right time. Now we had a very high attendance rate...so the humanizing aspect of what we were doing obviously encouraged people to come. Clare, Director, FERN

In the above quote, the identity of FERN as a 'client-centred' organisation was contrasted with the private sector provider in the same field in a way that highlights the differences between the approaches of the two organisations. Similarly, management at FERN distinguished FERN from some other third sector organisations based on perceptions of being forward-looking, innovative and flexible and the identity of FERN as a

flexible, modern TSO with an ethos of a 'person-centred' approach allowing the organisation to make compromises in terms of its organisational values without feeling its core values or identity were compromised. It also helped maintain a sense that FERN was an active actor in the field and not merely a passive recipient that accepted uncritically all the changes demanded by the dominant actors in the field. FERN's identity as both 'forward-looking' and 'client-centred' may also be related to its occupying hybrid organisational zone involving a Third/Public/Private mix (Billis 2010) as outlined earlier (see 6.2) and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight (8.2.1).

6.3.3 Summary

FERN was a small TSO based on a single site within one local authority area and consisting of different 'arms' including a charity arm and social enterprise arms, with the charity (the focus of the case study) providing employment support services to people with physical and mental health issues. Documentary evidence and participants at FERN demonstrated that, in response to external funding pressures, the organisational values had 'shifted' towards including a wider client group and focusing more on employment outcomes, but had also retained the core value of a 'client-focused' approach without obviously resulting in a conflict of values between 'private-sector' values (e.g. target focus) and 'third-sector' values (e.g. client focus) (however, the process of shifting values itself may not have actually been conflict-free, see 7.3). The distinct organisational identity of FERN as both a 'forward-looking' and 'client-centred' organisation and as different from other organisational sectors, allowed it to 'shift' values and (seemingly) avoid overt conflict of values. Section 8.2.1 in the Discussion Chapter Eight will develop these points further.

6.4 LARCH

6.4.1 Background and Context

LARCH was a small national third sector organisation (See Table 6.1 and Table 6.2) employing twenty-two staff (mainly part-time) with a head office based in Edinburgh where the Chief Executive, administration and support team, Finance, Policy and one senior manager were based. Two Regional Managers were based from home in the North and

South of Scotland and the Regional Managers supported eight front-line workers who were based in (mostly) different local authority areas around Scotland, including in the Highlands and Central Belt. Many front-line workers were based from home, working in community locations and sometimes carrying out home visits to clients.

The organisation provided support for a particular and vulnerable client group, adults with disabilities. This work was organised through local front-line workers who both provided direct services and access to services for clients as well as managing volunteers to also carry out these functions. The balance between the Co-ordinator working directly with clients and managing volunteers to work with clients varied between local areas and co-ordinators.

Like many other TSOs, LARCH had been affected by reduced funding to which the organisation had responded by reducing staff hours rather than making redundancies (which is why many staff worked part-time). There had also been no pay rises for the previous five years, except for a small inflation-related rise of one per cent in one of the years. Services had been relatively unaffected, although cuts in the services of partner organisations had resulted in a shift towards providing some services in house rather than signposting externally. The funding context remained 'challenging' for the organisation as fewer funding opportunities were reported to be available. However, they retained core funding from the Scottish Government (although at a reduced level), which provided the basic infrastructure for the provision of their services. Front-line workers were generally funded through local authorities, often on a fixed-term project basis.

6.4.2 Tensions at the Level of Organisational Governance

The formal values of LARCH focused around providing person-centred support which empowered clients to 'achieve their potential' (LARCH Strategic Plan 2013-2016) and specifically addressed exclusion from learning. Other activities, such as informing and influencing policy and securing funding supported these core aims. The aims were expressed in the current organisational strategic plan (2013-2016) as well as on the organisational website (See Exhibit 6.2 below).

Exhibit 6.2: Organisational Values at LARCH

[LARCH] exists to:

- ***Empower disabled people and carers of disabled people to make well informed choices and engage confidently in learning;***
- ***Provide person centred, individualised support for learning;***
- ***Combat exclusion from learning;***
- ***Inform and influence the development of policy and learning provision.***

Source: Larch website accessed 6/11/2015

There was a high degree of consensus in support for the core organisational values by all those who participated in the research, for instance front line staff and managers generally shared the core values of the organisation, particularly around providing a person-centred approach, empowering disabled people and combatting social exclusion. These values were often a key motivator for staff (both managers and front-line workers) in their work as the following front-line workers demonstrated:

There is something in [LARCH's] mission statement...which is the phrase 'actively combat exclusion' and that really motivates me because of persistent inequalities. Mia, Front-line worker

I think [LARCH] gives this unique learner-centred approach somehow we manage to really holistically look at the young person, the family, the volunteer, the volunteers family and we do make a difference and its really awesome to see. Lily, Front-line worker

At the governance level of the organisation, members of the Board also generally claimed to share the same core values and many claimed to have been attracted to the role of Board member because of a match between their personal interests and values and that of the organisation, as this member explained:

I was interested in the whole notion of what LARCH stands for and it resonated on a personal level as well and I just thought if I could do anything to help then I would, Isabella, Board Member, LARCH (Focus Group with Board Members)

The Board members also felt that a key strength of the organisation was the clarity of its values which informed the organisation's approach to service delivery and the following quote from Board member Jack demonstrated this point:

I think as an organisation, LARCH is very much led by its values and, you know [the Chief Executive] is very very clear on what our values are and those values are intrinsic to the whole service delivery. Without those values, I don't think we'd be delivering the quality of service that we are and I think the whole thing wouldn't have nearly as strong a proposition without those values. Jack, Board Member LARCH (Focus Group with Board Members)

While there was a high degree of consensus around the organisational values among members at different levels within the organisation, there was evidence of tensions and struggles over just how to best interpret the organisational values. This was particularly evident at the governance level of the organisation where tensions between senior management and Board members were reported to have been ongoing for some time. For instance, Board members wanted to bring in more 'business principles' into the operation and running of the organization, whereas the Senior Management (the CEO and Deputy CEO) saw the 'business principles' proposed by the Board as fundamentally incompatible with a person-centred delivery model. The 'business principles' the Board wanted involved making LARCH less reliant on public funding, and in particular less reliant on 'core' funding from the Scottish Government. Instead, the Board wanted to see LARCH generate more income independently, for instance through commercial activity (e.g. providing external training courses had been discussed within the organisation) and charitable donations. In particular, the Board wanted the organisation to be as 'cost-effective' as possible so that all costs of providing a service were covered:

We're trying to re-orientate the organisation to being as cost effective as possible and looking to fund everything that is provided. Oliver, Board Member, LARCH (Board Meeting, from observation notes)

While the Board supported the role of 'business principles' within the organisation, the senior managers were clear that what the Board was proposing was incompatible with

providing a front-line service. Senior managers felt that running a charity delivering services was a very different proposition to running a business and that the activities of LARCH could not easily be commercialised as the Olivia, Senior Manager and Deputy CEO explained:

They [The Board] were wanting...us to be self-income generating by 2016, no reliance on any grants. That's unrealistic but they didn't understand...There's pressure to become commercial and the organisation isn't ripe to turn into something that's a business in the way that they think they or rather hope we would do. Olivia, Senior Manager, Deputy CEO, LARCH

However, the Board felt that senior managers were out of touch with modern management and governance practices for running charities and were equally adamant that charitable organisations could be managed and operated in the same way as private sector commercial organisations. This view is expressed by Board member Jack in the following quote:

The world has changed and there's now strong evidence that the best run charities run themselves in no different a way to than the best run private businesses, so the difference between the sectors is miniscule in terms of governance and best management. Jack, Board Member, LARCH (Focus Group with Board Members)

For their part, senior managers felt that the Board did not fully understand the third sector and the nature of the environment within which FERN was currently operating and in particular that providing charitable services could not be operated in the same way as providing business services. The CEO, Megan, expressed these views in the following quote:

My chairman and I are constantly at loggerheads because he went to a workshop and somebody said that a charity "it should always be run like a business, there's no exceptions to that" ...The front-line services can't be run like a business. It's a very different beast from actually running the charity and when I say to them there's a different context in which the delivery of services

operate they're not buying that at all... I absolutely except that the charity has to be run like a business and I've always bought into that particular mindset, but the front-line services it's not a business, it's a service, it's a support, it's not a business. Megan, CEO, LARCH

In the above quote, the CEO expressed the view that although some parts of running a charitable organisation can usefully adopt some 'business principles', other parts of a charity could not be run using 'business principles', for instance, the CEO argued that back office functions such as administration and finance can and do benefit from adopting some 'business principles' but that the front-line service delivery operates in a different way and could not be operated on business principles because of the nature of the service (being 'client-focused').

The tension between the Board and senior management at LARCH was rooted in the different identities (and related values) of the two groups with board members strongly identifying themselves with the private sector and senior management aligning themselves with the third sector. This difference in identities can be seen through the different working backgrounds of members of each group with the Board members having had experience of working in a different environment than did the senior managers in LARCH. All except one of the Board members had extensive experience of working in the private sector, for instance, finance, banking, consultancy, and strongly identified with the private sector as a whole while none had much, if any, experience of working in the third sector:

Our Board has changed a lot over the past four or five years and we...mostly don't have anybody who is involved in education. We've got five members of the Board and one of them is involved in some sort of education. We came from a Board that was all education based or social work based and we now have a Board that is more business-orientated. Megan, CEO, LARCH

In contrast, both senior managers had spent many years working in the third sector (mostly at LARCH) and because of this experience, claimed to have expert knowledge while they considered that Board members lacked sufficient knowledge of the realities of the third sector because of member's lack of experience in the sector. The CEO felt

that the Board did not fully understand the purpose of LARCH which was to provide services to clients and was concerned that the Board were too orientated towards making the organisation more like a private sector business, of which the ultimate purpose was to make money, as she explained:

One of the really strong influences that I want them [members of the Board] to take away from every meeting is that we have to remember why we're doing what we're doing. If we're not doing that then what is the point at the end of the day? That's why we're here and if we have to subsidize that or if we have to...have reduced funding because of that, that's not important as long as we keep going. What is important is what we're doing and hopefully they start to buy into that. Megan, CEO, LARCH

In this example, the CEO was also trying to differentiate LARCH (and the third sector generally) from the private sector, arguing that the nature of the service they provided was very different and would actually be threatened and undermined by adopting the 'business principles' proposed by the Board. In so doing, Senior Management perceived themselves as attempting to protect what they perceived to be the values of LARCH as a distinctly third sector organisation and they strongly resisted attempts to have the organisation's values and identity diluted by adopting the private sector principles proposed by the Board.

The conflict over how to interpret values between the Board and the senior managers had been ongoing for some time, with senior management generally winning out since they had been able to resist changes proposed by the Board. Drawing on theories of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) (4.3), in particular as applied within organisations, this example of conflict at governance level can be seen as a struggle between two groups over control of the organisational values in the context of intense external pressures (e.g. tight funding). The 'incumbents' at the governance level within LARCH are senior management since they have been able to resist most of the changes proposed by the Board (the 'challengers') and senior management are able to do this not just because of their senior roles in the organisation but because of appeals to their greater experience and knowledge of the third sector (as we saw earlier). However, the 'unsettling' of the

third sector field generally (because of major funding cuts) seems to have opened up room for ‘challengers’ to challenge the existing principles of the third sector and these ‘challengers’ come with different experiences and values which are rooted in the private sector and the Board seeks to have these values accepted within LARCH. Board members also had a strong sense of being a united group based on their shared backgrounds and beliefs about the value of business principles and sought to bolster their power by recruiting more members to the Board in the hope that this would tip the balance of power in the Board’s favour. In this quote, the Chairman of the Board recognised the importance of strengthening the group in order to have more influence:

Our opposition is really weakened by the fact that there are not really many of us. If we had a larger Board we’d be in a stronger position, not by weight of numbers, but by weight of knowledge and expertise. Jack, Board Member, LARCH (Focus Group with Board Members)

At the time of the fieldwork the struggle between senior management and the board was on-going, and because the research was carried out over a limited period of time, the research was not able to capture if, when and how the struggle was resolved and in whose favour.

6.4.3 Summary

LARCH was a small TSO providing support services to adults with learning disability and had central offices based in Edinburgh and front-line staff operating from home across different local authority areas in Scotland. Evidence from interviews with participants in the organisation demonstrated that the organisational values were perceived to be clear and to have widespread support from staff and board members throughout the organisation. This case study demonstrated that values can be a source of conflict and tension between different groups vying for power within organisations. The evidence of tensions and struggles over how to implement the organisational values emerged at the governance level during the case study with board members pushing for the organisation to adopt more of a ‘business’ orientation and senior managers strongly resisting because they believed business values to be incompatible with a client-focused approach. The difference in interpretation of values between board members and senior

members appeared to be rooted in differences in experience and identities, which demonstrates a link between values and identity of social groups.

6.5 SYCAMORE

6.5.1 Background and Context

SYCAMORE was a medium-sized national third sector organisation (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2) which provided over 60 services across 22 locations in Scotland to a variety of clients including perpetrators and victims of crime. In total SYCAMORE employed 253 staff in February 2015. The organisation had a head office based in Edinburgh where the senior management and support services, such as HR, finance and IT, were based. Services were managed within eleven broad regional geographical areas (these were not restricted to single local authority areas and each area included up to three local authority areas) and regional offices varied greatly in size, from areas with a single small office containing up to around eight staff members, to larger regional offices which also included smaller satellite local offices.

Management in SYCAMORE reported that the charity had been severely hit by funding cuts (particularly from local authorities) and had downsized as a consequence and recent figures (provided by HR, 2015) showed that staff numbers had decreased of 38 per cent between 2014 and 2015 (staff numbers for the previous five years were requested from the organisation, but only the previous years' (February 2014) were provided). The organisation was in the process of a Change Programme which involved restructuring at management level and at individual service level in order to reduce costs. Individual services had also been restructured in response to funding cuts, often resulting in downgrading posts and/or moving to part-time.

Senior management reported that funding conditions had become increasingly difficult and that they had lost four significant on-going contracts in recent times prompting a consultation to increase the working hours of staff from 35 hours to 37.5 hours (the Consultation on Working Hours) in order for the organisation to be more competitive in their funding bids. The increase in working hours would mean full-time staff working

longer hours for no extra pay and a reduced hourly rate for part-time and sessional workers.

The majority of funding contracts were on a year-on-year basis which also meant that many staff were contracted on a fixed-term rather than permanent basis and there were regular rounds of redundancy notices when funding contracts were coming to an end. Sometimes funders delayed funding decisions until past the previous contract end date and this created a lot of uncertainty and insecurity among staff. The HR Officer at SYCAMORE reported that staff turnover was relatively high (20%) possibly because front-line staff frequently sought alternative employment when contracts were coming up for renewal and, as a result, there was a considerable mix of staff employed at SYCAMORE with some longer serving staff members working alongside newer (and often younger) recruits. See Table A.1 in Appendix A.

6.5.2 Tensions between Actors in the Organisational Field

SYCAMORE outlined its key organisational values in its Strategic Plan 2012-2015. SYCAMORE's overall mission was to 'create safe and cohesive communities by reducing conflict and offending', while its values underpinned the way in which it worked to achieve this mission. See Exhibit 6.3.

Exhibit 6.3: Organisational Values at SYCAMORE

We are committed to working to the highest ethical standards. These include: integrity, recognising and valuing diversity; promoting equality of opportunity; and probity in the use of public funds.

Our practice is guided by the belief that all should be shown respect and be empowered to take personal responsibility, acknowledging their capacity for change

Source: SYCAMORE Strategic Plan 2012-2015

At the front-line, the organisational values were interpreted as promoting a 'client-focused' approach putting 'the service user first' (Leah, Glen Central). For instance, when

asked about what the organisational values were, this front-line worker characterises the values in terms of:

I agree with their values. It's all about putting people first and helping people to overcome whatever difficulties they've got in their lives. Hailey, SYCAMORE Glen Central (5 ½ years with SYCAMORE)

For front-line staff, helping clients was the main priority and other work, such as 'paperwork', was considered of secondary importance to meeting the needs of clients and so under time pressure, front-line workers focused their time on clients at the expense of 'paperwork', as this Team Leader explained:

To be perfectly honest, clients come number one for the workers. Paperwork probably comes second. So, they will give as much [as they can to] the service delivery or client time as they possible can and it's probably the paperwork that falls back, the case notes, and all the other bits and pieces that they need to do rather than impacting on the service user. Leah, Team Leader, SYCAMORE Glen Central (2 years, but also worked with SYCAMORE over 10 years ago)

While there was a consensus at service level that 'client-focused' values were shared among front-line staff (as well as among team leaders and service managers), it was often the case that service level workers did not feel that a 'client-focused' approach was shared in the same way by senior management (based at Head Office). For his part, the CEO was concerned that SYCAMORE was able to successfully bid for tenders in an increasingly competitive landscape. As a result of the focus on winning tenders and providing evidence to funders about the success of the services the organisation already delivered, there was a perception among service level staff of an increase in 'paperwork' (probably justified) involving the gathering of data and statistics. This increased the workload of front-line workers and took away time that would have been otherwise available to spend helping clients, as Leah outlined:

I still think everybody wants to put the service user first, but they realise that because of all these additional duties put upon them – we've got a new outcome monitoring tool that we need to use, we've got a lot more paperwork than what

we ever had to do before – but yet again the focus is with the service user. But then you'll get negativity about all these paper work that's been introduced from national... Leah, SYCAMORE Glen Central (2 years, but also worked with SYCAMORE over 10 years ago)

Increased 'paperwork' (compounded by the Consultation on Working Hours and numerous previous service restructurings resulting in down-sized services) led a number of service level staff to conclude that senior managers did not actually share the 'client-focused' value with service level staff. Senior managers were perceived to be 'business-focused' (by which staff meant more focused on 'money', reducing costs, getting in new business and collecting statistics to support further tenders) and this 'business-focus' impacted on the quality of services provided to current clients. The following comments by staff at the three different sites in the case study illustrate these perceptions and demonstrate that the perception that senior managers were 'business-focused' was found across different sites:

Senior management operate in a business way.... At the end of the day, they are making the decision on a monetary basis regardless of how right or moral that decision is. Michael, SYCAMORE Coppice (15 years)

The focus just seems to be on securing new business all the time. They don't seem to have any input in existing services...I'd asked for help and...there was no support in place to help me develop that service. Hailey, SYCAMORE Glen Central (5 1/2 years)

Their core values are all about numbers and statistics and how good it looks in principle and on paper and it's not all about the clients. Zoe, SYCAMORE Glen North (2 ½ years)

Front-line workers felt that senior managers lacked knowledge about the front-line and in particular how policies and protocols set by senior managers impacted on the front-line and work with clients. Front-line workers, by contrast, were focused on what happened at service level and it was the impacts that management actions had at the service level that primarily concerned them. Front-line workers were able to see the impact

that various managerial initiatives (such as increased 'paperwork') had on the front-line or service level, for instance, putting some managerial initiatives into practice was not always a straightforward matter for front-line workers who were faced with the reality of working with actual clients. Front-line staff felt that senior managers did not fully grasp the implications of introducing managerial initiatives which made it harder for front-line workers to uphold the stated values (perceived in terms of 'client-focus') of the organisation. Anna described how the 'client-focused' values were apt to 'get a little lost' in the implementation:

Obviously like with mission statements and values things are said, but when it actually comes down to the nitty gritty and trying to do those things, I think sometimes it can get lost a little bit....We were doing like...health and safety type things and like the guy who was...telling us protocols to stick to and things, but sometimes those particular protocols could be difficult in the situations that we are going into and I think sometimes people who aren't the front-line staff don't always understand or realise what we're dealing with on a daily basis...maybe not realising how that could be more time consuming for us on the lower level with what we're having to do with. Anna, SYCAMORE Coppice (2 ½ years)

In this quote, Anna explains that standardised protocols proscribing ways of working can be problematic because standardised protocols do not take into account the diversity and different circumstances of the clients that she, as a front-line worker, has to deal with on a daily basis. In turn, this increases the workload of front-line workers putting them under additional pressure.

Management, on the other hand, perceived some front-line staff as lacking knowledge about the way senior managers operated in a very difficult economic environment. For instance, the view among front line staff that senior management were 'business-focused' rather than 'client-focused' was recognised by one Service Manager who explained this view in terms of fear among some staff that recent organisational changes might undermine organisational values. While she understood this viewpoint, she personally felt it was unfounded since as a manager she was privy to the ways in which the

organisation had protected its values at the expense of income in a way which staff generally might be unaware of (for instance, not going for funding that did not fit with organisational values). She explained:

As a manager, I know that SYCAMORE haven't went for certain things because it would undermine their values or they are not doing this, that or the next thing because of [values], but I suppose that maybe sometimes staff are maybe not aware of some of things that go on... This has got nothing to do with ethos and values, it's down to business case, that we have to progress, we have to move on, we need to be able to sustain services in the business world. Samantha, Service Manager, SYCAMORE Coppice (2 ½ years)

Staff were not entirely unsympathetic to the difficulties faced by senior management but still had mixed feelings about the perceived 'business-driven' approach, on the one hand recognising the difficult external environment and the need to take a business-driven approach to ensure organisational survival, 'if you're not getting the money then you can't do the work' (Lillian, Coppice), but still feeling uncomfortable 'when they start putting profit over people' (Lillian, Coppice). Michael (below) sums up this position:

I understand it because it is a business regardless of the fact that we are trying to help improve the society in which we live. It needs a business mind to get the money in and control how the money is spent. I don't like it but I don't really know that there is much choice. Michael, SYCAMORE Coppice (15 years)

There was a major dividing line between front-line staff who were concerned about the balance between a 'client-focused' approach and a 'business-driven' approach within the organisation (as seen in the quote above) and front-line staff who felt that the balance had tipped too far in favour of a 'business-driven' approach. These latter staff exhibited a much more antagonistic attitude towards senior management and consisted predominantly of longer-serving staff who felt that senior management did not share their values and viewed senior management as a different and distant powerful group who had limited understanding of the front-line. This is the view expressed by Anthony:

We used to care about the kids. All they care about now is statistics as far as I can see. I know you've got to justify it to get money, but it's way too far. You tick boxes you're a hero. If you don't tick boxes but you work with the kids, they look down their nose at you. Anthony, SYCAMORE Glen Central (10 ½ years)

The negative attitude towards senior managers among some longer-serving staff was something that was recognised among senior managers themselves with the CEO, HR Officer, Service Manager and a Team Leader each indicating that there were two distinct groups within SYCAMORE: longer serving staff, the 'old guard' and; new staff, who had come into the organisation since 2009 when the Change Programme had been implemented (CEO, SYCAMORE). The CEO felt that these two groups were divided in their attitudes towards senior management with newer staff having 'less baggage' and being less prejudiced (the current CEO had been appointed in 2009 with the express intent of turning around SYCAMORE which was then in financial 'dire straits'). A service manager also noted the difference in attitudes between the two groups based on experiences of the organisational changes since 2009:

I think you can see a difference between new staff coming in, they're very motivated wanting to, I suppose, make their presence be felt and coming in doing a job and maybe people who have been here for a longer time who sometimes I think can say "oh well, we've been through all this before and here we go again" kind of thing. Samantha, SYCAMORE Coppice (2 ½ years)

Interviews among staff at service level confirmed this view that longer-serving staff (six front-line staff had worked with the organisation for more than 5 years, and 4 staff more than 10 years (out of 15 front-line staff interviewed in total)) generally felt most antagonistic towards Senior Management, while staff who had been recruited from outside the organisation in the last few years or so seemed much more sympathetic to management and more willing, on the whole, to accept the changes within the organisation, for instance, one longer-serving front-line worker felt his commitment to a 'client-focused' approach was no longer valued by Senior Managers who he felt would be happier if he (and colleagues like him) left:

As folk like me leave, they get more and more folk that'll do the tick box thing for them....and then they'll be happy and they do not have moaning old gits like me. Anthony, SYCAMORE Glen Central (10 ½ years)

The sense of loss for how the organisation 'used to be' is palpable among some of the longer-serving staff like Anthony who bemoans the loss of the client-focused values when he exclaims with a sense of powerlessness that *"We used to care about the kids..."* Anthony, SYCAMORE. The 'nostalgia' for past times as evidenced at SYCAMORE is more than just a yearning for an 'idealised' past that aids psychological adaptation but represents a 'real' loss, as Leah detailed:

Because they've [longer-serving staff] known the old SYCAMORE, how SYCAMORE used to be in comparison to where SYCAMORE is now. Years ago, SYCAMORE got loads of funding. There was no austerity, so in turn there was a lot more training probably taking place. They were not as busy in their workload. We used to have six administrators, we're now down to two...So that impacts onto staff members as well. They need to do all their letters, correspondence, so there's a lot more pressure put onto staff now as well as to give direct service to service users. Leah, SYCAMORE Glen Central, Team Leader (2 years, but also worked with SYCAMORE over 10 years ago)

'Nostalgia' therefore played a key role within SYCAMORE. Longer-serving staff remembered SYCAMORE before the recent era of public spending cuts and the organisational Change Programme that came about as a response. They remembered when the Public Services field more generally (and third sector organisations delivering public services) was relatively stable and funding seemed more abundant, a 'golden era'. The pressure on costs were much less noticeable and the value of 'client-focus' and quality services were values that appeared to have much more weight in the Public Services field, particularly among third sector organisations. Comparisons between the organisation field as it was pre-public spending cuts and the organisational field as it was currently led to an evaluation by these staff of a perceived change 'for the worst'. In the case of SYCAMORE, longer-serving staff perceived management as being more cost-driven than client-led, undermining the basic stated values of the organisation:

In this organisation money was never an issue.... I understand SYCAMORE has had to change, you have to adapt, but...money's definitely been behind it...[and] what I've witnessed over the years about how they've treated staff and that brings into doubt their values. Alex, SYCAMORE Glen Central (12 years)

Older workers felt increasingly marginalised because their 'values [were] being rendered residual' (Stangleman 2012, p. 422) because, essentially, the organisational field had changed over time and longer-serving staff found themselves in a changed field that was no longer as good a match with their own values and expectations as previously. A number of these staff indicated that they would like to leave the organisation although limited alternatives and/or health issues meant they had not been able to do so.

Within SYCAMORE, there was an on-going struggle over the identities of front-line workers with newer workers being more accepting of the need to 'do the tick box thing' (Anthony, SYCAMORE Glen Central), than longer-serving staff. 'Paperwork' was increasingly becoming part of the role of front-line workers and the meaning of being 'client-centred' was changing subtly to accommodate this. In SYCAMORE, there had been significant changes to the staff within the organisation since 2009. Newer staff brought with them experiences of working in different organisational fields, including a number of newer staff who were relatively young and had limited professional experience. Others had experience of working in other organisational fields (mostly in other public services). In addition, they brought with them an additional set of expectations and experiences, largely from the public sector, that itself had been in the process of change for some time. Within SYCAMORE, while newer staff did not always like the 'paperwork' they did not perceive it to be as much of a threat to being 'client-centred' as longer-serving staff appeared to do.

6.5.3 Summary

The tensions within SYCAMORE also illustrate how the external policy and economic environment puts pressure on 'incumbents' (in the case of SYCAMORE, senior managers) in the organisational field to make potentially uncomfortable choices around becoming

more ‘cost-driven’ in order to ensure organisational survival. This stark choice then results in conflicts and disagreements between actors in the organisational field about where to “draw the line in the sand” when making such compromises around the interpretation of organisational values and how best to actualise them. The pressure seems to be felt most acutely by longer-serving staff whose sense of work identity was tied up in the organisation as it existed in earlier times, ‘nostalgia’. An influx of new staff also seems to weaken their position to be able to resist changes within the organisation since newer staff were unencumbered by memories of an earlier (and ‘better’ in the views of some staff) version of the organisation and were more willing to accept the subtle shifts that have occurred in the role (and identity) of front-line worker.

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter focused on introducing the CSOs in more depth and on examining the value conflicts experienced at organisational level in order to investigate how tensions between different values in organisations manifested in particular contexts with examples of value conflicts drawn from different levels within the organisations. The findings demonstrated the different ways in which external pressures manifest within organisations. At FERN, the focus was on the response of senior management to external pressures and how senior management justify a ‘shift’ in the organisation’s formal written values. At LARCH, external pressures open up tensions at the governance level of the organisation with the Board and Senior Managers in conflict over the role of ‘business principles’ within service delivery. The case study at SYCAMORE focused on the consequences of external pressures on relations within the organisation – the tensions and conflicts between different levels within the organisation (senior management and service level) which were based on (perceptions of) value conflicts and different interpretations of the organisational values. Despite the apparently different ways in which conflicts manifested within the three organisations, the basic root of the conflicts was the same - the (actual or perceived) conflict between ‘client-focused’ values versus ‘business-’ or ‘market-orientated’ values. ‘

The organisational contexts and the conflicts that manifest at organisational level identified in this chapter form the environments within which FLWs operate and experience

their own value conflicts. The next chapter focuses more specifically on values and value conflicts experienced by FLWs across the CSOs

CHAPTER SEVEN: WORKING ON THE FRONT-LINE – VALUES, IDENTITIES AND VALUE CONFLICTS

7.1 Introduction

The last chapter introduced the three CSOs, the broader contexts within which the organisations operated, and examined some of the value conflicts that occurred at different levels in the organisations. The last chapter also examined how tensions between different values in organisations manifested in different contexts, and in particular the conflicts between a ‘person-centred’ approach and private sector values. The current chapter builds on the previous chapter, focusing specifically on the experience of front-line workers (FLWs) within the three CSOs. FLWs are considered as a whole group, rather than by individual organisation (although affiliation is considered where appropriate) so that the common experiences of value conflicts between FLWs can be examined and common strategies to manage conflicts can be identified.

In particular, this chapter will examine the following questions:

- What key values are central to third sector employees, and why are they important?
- How far do third sector employees experience value conflicts and what are the sources of these value conflicts? In particular, is there conflict between ‘client-focus’ versus ‘business-orientated’ values?
- To what extent are the same values shared by different individual workers and groups in the organisation and do conflicts of values emerge between different groups? In terms of social identity process this question can be rephrased as ‘How far does the individual identify with other particular groups, e.g. who are perceived to be the ‘in’ groups and the ‘out’ groups? To what extent are values a source of identity differentiation between and within groups?’

- How do individuals manage value conflicts and what strategies (if any) do they employ to help them cope with value conflicts and maintain a sense motivation in their day-to-day work?

In order to understand the value conflicts experienced by FLWs, there is a need to understand the values that are important to FLWs and this chapter therefore begins with an exploration of the values expressed by FLWs. The next section examines the extent to which the values expressed by FLWs are shared between FLWs (within and across the CSOs), and between FLWs and other groups in each organisation, in particular senior managers. This section also examines the link between values and identity.

Finally, this chapter will examine value conflicts and how these are 'managed' by FLWs including identifying the key value conflicts experienced by FLWs, some of the consequences of the conflicts and what strategies FLWs employ in order to 'manage' the values conflicts they experience.

7.2 Front-line workers and values

This section examines the personal values expressed by FLWs across the three CSOs. As this section will demonstrate, workers expressed their values both in terms of broader values, such as 'equality' and 'social justice', but also more often than not, in terms of wanting to 'help people' and particularly people in society who were disadvantaged or vulnerable. The core value of 'helping people' found expression in terms of workers' commitment to a 'client-focused' approach.

Some workers expressed their values in broad, general terms, such as in terms of 'equality' and 'social justice' and in terms of being 'politically left-wing', for instance, Hannah expressed her values in terms of 'equality for people' which for her meant addressing inequalities so that people had access to equal opportunities:

Equality for people is a huge value for me. That everyone is provided opportunities no matter the mistakes they've [made] in the past or who they are or what gender they are, that shouldn't matter. Hannah, SYCAMORE Glen North

Another FLW, Jessica (FERN), described her values in terms of her political orientation which she described as ‘fairly left wing’ and she believed that society should support vulnerable people and provide a ‘safety net’ for those who need it. Amelia (SYCAMORE) described her values in terms of her ‘passion’ for ‘justice’ and was concerned about disadvantaged people in society who did not have informal support networks, such as family, and she wanted to improve life for disadvantaged individuals and communities. While these FLWs explained their values in broad, general terms, linking a concern with disadvantaged people with broader political concepts such as ‘equality’ or ‘justice’, other workers described their values, more often than not, simply in terms of wanting to ‘help people’ without necessarily pursuing a higher goal of ‘equality’ or ‘justice’. Many of these workers who wanted to ‘help people’ were also concerned with helping people who are in ‘need’, for instance, Anna explained:

I just want to help people, people that's in need, and if I can do that then I will.

Anna, SYCAMORE Glen Central

However, while many workers did not necessarily express their values of wanting to help people explicitly in terms of broader values such as ‘equality’ and ‘justice’, it could be argued that ‘equality’ and ‘justice’ do appear to underpin the value of helping people for some workers. Emily, for example, explained her values in terms of helping those who had been ‘failed by the system’ (expressing a similar concern to that of Hannah, Jessica and Amelia (above) who explained their values more broadly in terms of ‘equality’, ‘justice’ and providing a ‘safety net’):

it's about helping people, some of the hardest to reach people that have said that they have been right round the cycle a hundred times and been failed by the system, whether it's at school and they've dropped out and if you managed to get that person onto the next step and then track them a year later and they're still making progress, for me that's why I do my job. Emily, LARCH

Therefore, the overriding value for FLWs in the CSOs was that of helping people in perceived need, and this value was often expressed more specifically in terms of the terminology of ‘person-centred’, ‘people-centred’ or ‘client-centred’ or ‘focused’. To a certain extent, the language used was associated with the area of work of the organisation

so a ‘person-centred’ approach was usually the way this was expressed at LARCH and SYCAMORE, whereas workers at FERN tended to use ‘client-centred’ (a couple of newly recruited workers at FERN who had recently come from working previously in the private sector still used the term ‘customer-focused’, although sometimes corrected themselves to ‘client-centred’ to reflect the different terminology in FERN). Millie identified herself as being ‘very much client-focused’ which for her meant making sure a client was looked after, so much so, that Millie felt she could not rest if a client was homeless and/or hungry without doing something to help:

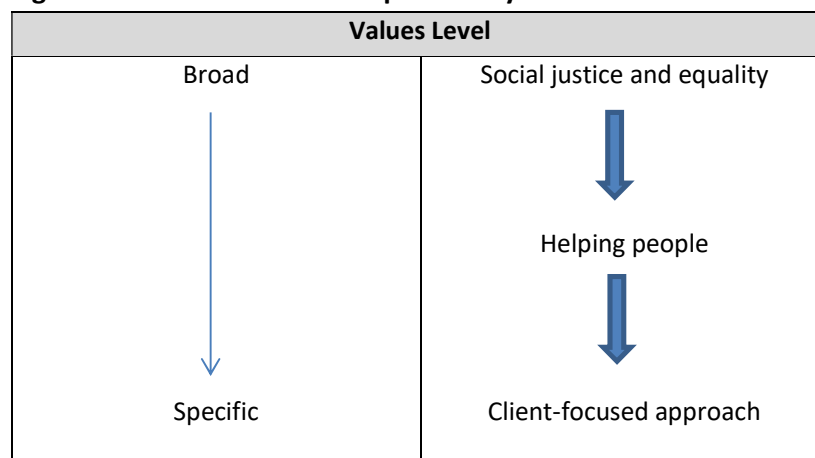
I’m very much client focused. I want to make the difference to somebody. Then I can say I’ve done my job and I couldn’t go home and sleep knowing that one of clients was sitting out there because they had nowhere to go and nothing to eat. I just couldn’t do it. Millie, FERN

More generally, a ‘client-focused’ approach was about putting the client first and providing a service that revolved around the client, as Eve said:

‘The service user...[is] at the heart of what we are doing’. (Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice).

Figure 7.1 (below) illustrates the relationship between broad and specific values with broad values of social justice and equality translating to ‘helping people’ and finding a specific focus and purpose in a ‘client-focused’ approach.

Figure 7.1: Levels of Values Expressed by Front-Line Workers



Helping people and wanting to 'make a difference' were commonly expressed values among front-line workers across all CSOs and some front-line workers personally identified strongly with these values, indicating that these values were intrinsic to their personal sense of identity, for instance:

That's really what it's about for me, just making a difference.... That's the sort of person I am as well. Heather, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Being able to help people and make a difference to clients' lives also gave many workers a feeling of satisfaction in their jobs and was a strong motivator for them in their jobs, as Erin (below) describes:

Me personally I like to help people, that's where I'm happiest is when I'm able to help somebody and being able to see the changes and the transitions that the young people make is brilliant. Erin, SYCAMORE Glen Central

There was a sense among some workers that they considered their work, and work within the third sector more generally, meaningful and 'worthwhile', with a number of workers stating that they chose the work in order to pursue a job that they considered more 'meaningful' and 'worthwhile', for instance, Charlotte explained her motivations for working in her current job:

I really wanted to work in a way that I felt was helping young people and so that I felt that I had a meaningful job, as opposed to doing something for the sake of doing it sort of thing. Charlotte, SYCAMORE Glen North

A number of front-line workers and managers, particularly at LARCH, also expressed a passion and commitment to the job which amounted to a perception of the job as a 'vocation' and many people mentioned that the sector in general, and the organisation in particular, did not pay particularly well and that people were generally motivated by values rather than financial rewards, as an excerpt from a focus group with FLWs at LARCH indicated:

We'll never get rich doing this job. I think that for me and for a lot of people I meet who I think are even more committed than me, far more, it's to do with a

sense of vocation. People in this type of work, in this type of sector really care about what they're doing rather than it being a means to a pay packet. For me I think that's what sort of keeps me going. Mia, LARCH (Focus Group with FLWs at LARCH)

Some workers were motivated to work in a particular field or with specific groups of clients, such as young people or disabled people, and often these motivations were explained in terms of very personal reasons to work with a particular client group as in the case of a worker at FERN who had a disabled sibling and wanted to help disabled people improve their employability skills because *'when I was younger there was nothing to help my brother because my brother was disabled'* (Lucy, FERN). Another worker at SYCAMORE wanted to help young offenders because *'as a young women at 17 I got into a bit of trouble myself'* (Hannah, SYCAMORE Glen North).

In addition to the personal experiences of a number of workers as above, other FLWs across the CSOs also expressed a strong sense of empathy or sympathy for the client groups with whom they worked. For instance, this older worker felt sympathy for young people claiming benefits because he perceived their opportunities in the labour market to be worse than when he was starting out in employment many years ago. He was also concerned that the impact of the cuts to public service spending would be 'hard' on young people:

I work with young people. They get £57 a fortnight. That wouldn't even get you a good night out. It wouldn't even get you a three course meal in a posh restaurant. In Edinburgh, it'd be a bottle of wine. So, I feel sorry for the them. I feel I was lucky when I got my job, there was plenty of jobs, I had to pick and choose, so I feel sorry for them. The cuts are going to be hard. Daniel, SYCAMORE Glen Central

FLWs' sympathy for clients sometimes produced an emotional reaction for workers as Millie recalled when changing jobs and her concern at leaving some of her clients, ('my addicts' she referred to them). She was concerned for her clients' future well-being in her absence:

I was actually crying when I left some of my addicts because I says to them, you have to watch your money, you have to. I used to say to them, play the game, save your money. Millie, FERN

7.2.1 Summary

This section has demonstrated that ‘helping people’, particularly vulnerable or disadvantaged people was a key value among FLWs. For some workers, ‘helping people’ was underpinned by an explicit political value such as ‘justice’, ‘equality’ or even being ‘left-wing’, although even for workers who did not make explicit the broader values context, it seemed likely that broader values may underpin the specific ‘helping people’ value. Nevertheless, for FLWs ‘helping people’ found expression in a ‘person-centred’ approach working with clients and broader values such as ‘justice’, ‘equality’, being ‘left-wing’ and the general value of wanting to ‘help people’ were made manifest by FLWs through the more specific value of a ‘person-centred’ approach.

A ‘person-centred’ approach was at the core of values for FLWs and being ‘person-centred’ also carried with it a raft of meanings, identities and emotions. Being ‘person-centred’ was about putting clients at the forefront of their work and ‘making a difference’ to the lives of clients and was central to some workers’ sense of identity providing ‘meaningful’ and ‘worthwhile’ work and a sense of motivation. A number of workers expressed sympathy for clients, both in terms of identifying with clients themselves (for instance, when they or someone in their own family had a similar experience to their clients), and in terms of having an emotional reaction of sympathy for clients.

Among FLWs, values were bound up with motivations, identities and emotions, with values providing motivations to pursue a particular type of job, or ‘vocation’. Values provided day-to-day motivations for workers seeking to ‘make a difference’ to the lives of clients and values provided a basis for the identities of workers as ‘client-focused’ individuals concerned principally about clients’ wellbeing. Values and identities intertwined particularly when personal experiences of workers led to empathy and a desire to help the client-groups with whom they were currently working. Emotions also existed

in the background, and expressed themselves among workers in concern for the well-being of their clients.

The next section goes on to examine the extent to which values identified in this section were shared between different groups within the CSOs, in particular, between FLWs themselves and between FLWs and senior managers.

7.3 Values, Identities and Groups

Many FLWs felt that their own personal client-focused values were shared with other FLWs in the same organisations, and this was evidenced within each of the CSOs. For instance, Eve felt that workers across SYCAMORE were all focused on the service user:

As a front-line worker, your values are focused on your service user. The service user is at the heart of what we are doing... I think the focuses are the same and if you speak to any SYCAMORE worker, the focus is on the service user and service provision. Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice

At FERN, Lucy also felt that staff, particularly front-line staff, shared the same client-focused value:

It's very client-focused and I think the [FLWs] feel that more so than management in all honesty because we're for the client, the person. Lucy, FERN

Similarly, at LARCH, Ava explained that the focus on clients was shared among FLWs and was what kept them motivated:

That's basically why we're still in the job and most of us have been here for a long time. That's what keeps us going [is] the actual work with the learners and the volunteers too, and the difference that we can make to see them grow, their new skills, make a difference in their lives. Ava, LARCH (Focus Group with FLWs in LARCH)

These client-focused values and motivations among workers across the three CSOs were also linked to a sense of shared commitments among FLWs to clients and their work.

For instance, Michael had worked in a number of different SYCAMORE offices over his 15 years of employment with SYCAMORE and felt that most of the workers he had encountered during this time within the organisation shared the same commitment to the work:

Every office I've worked in with SYCAMORE you do feel that virtually all of the people you are working with share the same sense of commitment to the work. They do the work to the best of their abilities. Michael, SYCAMORE Coppice

Some FLWs also explicitly privileged 'real world' experience (e.g. direct contact with clients on the front-line) as giving front-line workers a shared insight into the realities of the day-to-day operational side of the organisation's work. This was invariably expressed by FLWs in contrast to other staff working in the organisation (for instance, senior managers, board members) who were not perceived to have this 'real world' experience to the same extent and who were therefore less able to understand the actual realities faced by FLWs. At LARCH, Ava, (reiterating some of the general sentiments expressed by senior management in Chapter Six, LARCH case study) felt that board members at LARCH were 'too far removed' from what FLWs were doing 'out in the real world' and identified the benefits of this 'real world' experience of having direct contact with clients as keeping FLWs connected and motivated to service delivery:

I'm not really sure that the Board members really have got a true handle about what we're doing and I think its maybe the problem with a lot of organisations when it's just a bit too far removed and if you're looking at target figures and statistics and you know theoretically on paper that's all very well and good but out in the real world when you're actually having to do the job it's quite different and we as [FLWs], what keeps...us more connected and passionate about it [is] because we have got a direct service delivery, so we are directly making relationships with the people. Ava, LARCH

As was described in the SYCAMORE case study in Chapter Six, there were some tensions over values between senior management and some front-line workers, and this was also reflected in a feeling among a number of workers that there was a lack of understanding about the realities of front-line work. For instance, Victoria felt that workers who were

not working directly with clients on the front-line did not understand the day-to-day realities facing FLWs:

I think sometimes people who aren't the front-line staff don't always understand or realise what we're dealing with on a daily basis. Victoria, SYCAMORE Coppice

Another FLW at SYCAMORE felt that an understanding of the issues facing the front-line was related to the position of staff within the organisational structure, with those nearer to the front-line (immediate line and service managers) having a better understanding of front-line issues than senior managers:

I think the closer they are to you the more understanding they have of the issues that you face and that just gets less and less the further up the hierarchy you go. Sarah, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Senior management at SYCAMORE were particularly highlighted as lacking an understanding of the realities of the front-line and the pressures on staff, which Allison described:

I think they're [senior management at head office] quite far removed from the day to day operational structure of the service, the day to day nitty gritty and I suppose we are in respect of their positions too, but I think ground level staff who go out there, do the job, because that's what we're all about...so I think they [senior management] say they understand the pressure that we're all under but I'm not sure they actually do in reality. Allison, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Some FLWs in SYCAMORE identified differences between themselves and senior managers based on lack of shared knowledge and experience as exemplified by FLWs in one particular service who felt that there was limited understanding of their work because managers did not share their identity and, by extension, their experience of that service. Alex identified the CEO of SYCAMORE as someone who came from a different service area and who had little understanding of Alex's service:

I think the way it's changed is because we've got a man at the top of the hill who is criminal justice, ex-police, so he's at the helm and mediation has always been a mainstay of this organisation over the years but really, speak to the majority of mediators and they'll tell you in the last three or four years, since he's come to the helm, that we're rated second best. Alex, SYCAMORE Glen Central

There was limited evidence found at LARCH or FERN to suggest that the same level of disparity existed between the perceived values of FLWs and those of senior managers as the disparity observed between some groups at SYCAMORE. However, it was difficult to ascertain precisely why there were perceived disparities in values at SYCAMORE, and fewer disparities (apparently) in the other organisations, since three individual organisations was too small a sample to draw out general links. One can only speculate that factors might include the high level of change that was occurring within SYCAMORE (at the time of the fieldwork) or that FERN and LARCH were both significantly smaller organisations than SYCAMORE, perhaps making communication between levels easier. However, there was evidence that FERN, while not particularly having issues around perceived disparity in values between groups at the time of the fieldwork, may have experienced a disparity in the past.

As the case study on FERN in Chapter Six attests, there had been a formal change of organisation values several years prior to the fieldwork taking place and several staff that were interviewed (including senior management) reported that a number of FLWs had left the organisation at that time. One longer serving FLW (Lewis) who had remained with the organisation, explained how a change in the local government department which funded FERN (from Health and Social Care to Economic Development) had changed the focus of the work and Lewis indicated that the reason for the departure of many of the staff several years previously was due to a disparity between senior management and some FLWs with regards to the new organisational values.

To be quite honest with you people left because they were unhappy with the management. They weren't happy with some of the changes, because as I said we went from Health and Social Care to Economic Development and there was

that change and it was a cultural change. Health and Social Care were looking at how people are cared for. Economic Development were looking at jobs. That was their prime criteria, so yes there was concern about that change and how FERN's values had changed at that point and there was, I would say, disparity between the management and the ground floor as to how that changed. So, that was a concern and people did leave because of that. Lewis, FERN

Unfortunately, because of the time lapse and the fact of few remaining staff from this particular period in FERN's history, evidence to further verify this stance was limited. However, there were indications that, in the case of both SYCAMORE and FERN, significant organisational change may be a key factor implicated in increased disparity in perceived values between management and the front-line.

7.3.1 Summary

This section has established that FLWs across the CSOs perceived that the values of a client-focused approach and a commitment to clients and services were shared among other FLWs within the same organisation. While FLWs within the CSOs shared this common identity, there was a perception (particularly at SYCAMORE, and at FERN in the past) that there was a disparity between the values of FLWs and senior managers. Disparities between perceived values between FLWs and senior managers appeared to be based on perceptions of differences in outlook. For instance, FLWs identified that senior managers (or board members in the case of LARCH) lacked 'real world' knowledge and experience of the realities of working on the front line. Similarly, as demonstrated in Chapter Six case study on SYCAMORE, there was also a perceived difference in values between FLWs and senior managers with senior managers perceived (by some FLWs) as being more orientated towards a 'business-approach' at the expense of a client-focused approach.

Other factors that appeared to be related to perceived disparities between FLWs and senior managers were a lack of shared experience and knowledge of particular individual services among senior managers and a physical distance and isolation of some FLWs from managers (particularly from senior managers but also from line managers).

7.4 Managing Value Conflicts

7.4.1 Introduction

Having established in the previous sections of this chapter that client-focused values were central to the identity of FLWs as individuals and as a group, the remainder of this chapter aims to address the research questions of what value conflicts were experienced by FLW and how individuals managed value conflicts? This chapter aims to identify strategies that FLWs employed in order to resolve value conflicts, as well as to identify the impact value conflicts had on individuals.

The discussion in Chapter Four regarding previous literature on managing value conflicts (4.5.2) and, in particular, Table 4.3 (How front-line workers manage value conflicts: considerations) guided the exploration of value conflicts in the fieldwork carried out with FLWs, but (especially in the context of limited existing research) consideration was also given to other conflicts and strategies reported by participants. The findings are presented based on the causes of value conflicts experienced by FLWs. For each value conflict, the potential and actual consequences of the particular conflict are examined and, finally, the strategies that were used by FLWs to manage the conflict, and so minimise the negative consequences of the value conflict, are detailed. The causes of value conflicts that are examined in this section include:

- Fixed project criteria (including, for instance, standardised delivery frameworks)
- Boundary setting between clients and FLWs and emotional reactions
- Limited resources, including high or fluctuating demand for services
- The need to carry out paperwork and meet targets
- Job insecurity
- Value conflicts with other groups in the organisation, using the example of conflicts between FLWs and senior manager at SYCAMORE.

Many of these factors were identified by FLWs as potentially conflicting with the core value of ‘helping people’ through pursuing a ‘client-focused’ approach, as shall now be examined.

7.4.2 Criteria

Criteria were usually specified by individual project funding contracts and these criteria specified the limits of: whom a service could work with; where a service was delivered; and how a particular service was delivered. More specifically these criteria related to the regional coverage of the service (for instance, clients living within a specified area), the type of client (a particular client group, such as young people, offenders, unemployed or adults with learning disabilities), the types of issues faced by the clients (their particular needs), boundaries (observing certain limits in terms of the relationship between client and worker) and timescales (the time allotted for a client to receive a service). Each of these criteria could potentially create a value conflict for a FLW since each criterion potentially limited the ability of a FLW to 'help people' in one way or another. For instance, all projects set geographical boundaries for delivery of their services, so services were restricted to specific geographical areas within Scotland depending on funding provided. This could create tensions for some workers where adjoining geographical areas were not covered in the funding criteria but who still encountered clients from these areas. Emily received referrals from another adjacent geographical area which did not offer the same services as her own area. Although she was not supposed to work with these clients she did because she was concerned about their well-being:

Now a big factor with our funding is we cover the whole of [Shire] but we don't cover [City] so we do get referrals for [City]...and I shouldn't meet with some of these people but I do meet with them because they are at their wits end ... Emily, FERN

Emily ignored the official criteria in order to help people, although she tried to find ways of reconciling the challenge by finding means to help people that did not take up much additional cost or time, ultimately seeking to 'signpost' clients on to other services that could help the client:

Whether its Skype or whether its I'm out in that area anyway and I'll say, "oh well it's not costing any more mileage, I'll meet you for half an hour we'll have a quick coffee, I'll signpost you". Emily, FERN

However, Emily's willingness to help all comers to the service came at a personal cost in that she regularly worked much longer hours than her part-time contract. However, it was a cost she was prepared to pay because she considered her job a vocation and got huge satisfaction from helping people:

You're doing loads of hours for nothing...so of course it has to be a vocation, because you're not doing it for any monetary remuneration purposes you're doing it because you love the job and I love the job that I do and I love the difference that it makes to the people. Emily, FERN

Project criteria also invariably specified a particular client group and/or a specific issue that were the focus for the services provided. For instance, some of the specific groups and issues covered by projects within the CSOs included (among other services): young people (aged under 25 years) at risk of offending; adult ex-offenders; disabled people seeking learning opportunities; unemployed people seeking employment; ex-offenders seeking employment. Specific criteria such as these could potentially create tensions for FLWs who would then have to turn away a person seeking help from their service, going against their motivations to help people. In reality, these tensions appeared relatively infrequently because staff were, generally, able to help such clients in some way. For instance, Victoria's clients were required to have an addiction issue to access the service but Victoria was at pains to explain that if a person did not fit the addiction issue criteria she would never completely abandon them and in her case she (like Emily at FERN earlier) was able to 'signpost' or refer a client on to another more appropriate service:

If someone had absolutely no addiction issues but needed help with housing or benefits that would probably be where we would say, right maybe we're not the service for you, we wouldn't just leave them, we would find and refer them on to an appropriate service. Victoria, SYCAMORE Coppice

Some projects also specified time scales within which clients should progress through the service (dependent on the type of service). Timescales could potentially create conflicts for FLWs where FLWs felt more time with a client was required. However, in reality,

there appeared to be considerable flexibility. For instance, Anna explained how set timescales could be extended as long as she was able to provide justification.

I mean we get referrals from [X] and they've got to be done within 3 months, or you've got to ask for an extension...so there is timescales that you can work to, but they are flexible again, as long as you're justified in what you're doing and why you're doing it, then there is no reason why you can't. Anna, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Occasionally a worker ignored fixed timescales for working with a client as in the case of Anthony, who while having fixed timescales focused solely on working with a client until completion:

I don't bother [with the fixed timescales]. I start with the kid and I keep going until I think I've done something, or I get to the stage where it proves that nothing is going to happen, but I start there and I finish there and if I was meant to finish there, tough. My prime importance is the young people. Anthony, SYCAMORE Glen Central

While all projects had standardised criteria within which FLWs were required to work, the 'Consortium' Project at FERN went further and specified a standardised delivery framework ('the Delivery Model') which was applied in work with clients within FERN and across their partner organisations who were involved in joint delivery of the project. The Delivery Model outlined five stages in client progress, had standardised paperwork and assessment tools that applied to all clients, as well as basic criteria that clients had to fit to be accepted onto the programme. Although 'Consortium' had only been operating for three months, some workers at FERN were concerned that a standardised framework would create difficulties pursuing a client-focused approach, with the potential to cause conflicts with the workers' client-focused orientation. Jessica expressed concern around the amount of standardised information that needed to be collected for individuals which had the potential to take away time spent with clients:

If I'm honest, I don't like something that's proscribed because every customer you see is different and every customer has different needs and I think...there's

certain things you do instinctively and the less time on paperwork and more time I spend with my customer the better, for example, we have something like it must be 10/15 pages vocational profile...that you fill in... I don't feel I need to do a 15-page document, I just need to speak to the person. Jessica, FERN

However, other workers, particularly those who had worked on other projects within FERN previously, did not feel that the Delivery Model impinged unnecessarily on their levels of discretion. One worker even felt that, in fact, their 'freedom' was greater than in earlier similar projects because they were able to see clients in the community whereas previous projects had required clients to be seen at FERN offices. As Isla explained:

Since this programme started I think we've got a lot more freedom on how we do a job. I'm out and about an awful lot now...whereas before, our clients were expected to come to the office...so we get to spend more time with clients and their comfortable environment and I've found it to be very eye opening as well as very useful. Isla, FERN

One reason why fixed project criteria (and even the standardised framework) in general were not a major source of value conflicts for FLWs across the CSOs was because of the high levels of discretion over decision-making in relation to clients afforded to FLWs. While criteria acted as a guiding framework to decision-making, FLWs still had considerable freedom to exercise their own discretion, as Ella reported:

We know we have got processes and procedures as a framework that we're adhering to but within that there's flexibility so it's not a free for all...We know what we're doing, but then we've got boundaries within that. Ella, LARCH (Focus Group with FLWs in LARCH)

FLWs were trusted to use their judgement when working with clients and this freedom allowed workers to find reasons to help people who might otherwise fall outside the criteria as strictly interpreted.

FLWs had discretion over a number of aspects of their roles which enabled them to make decisions about more than how to interpret project criteria. For instance, most FLWs had considerable control over their day-to-day activities working with clients. FLWs across all the CSOs felt that they had a high level of ‘autonomy’, ‘freedom’, ‘flexibility’ and ‘independence’ to exercise their own discretion in the carrying out of their role on a day-to-day basis, as these workers across all three CSOs testified:

I think we're all pretty autonomous, we all make our own decision-making and judgement. Elizabeth, LARCH (Focus Group with FLWs in LARCH)

A big [part of the] time we work on our own and work off our own initiative. Alex, SYCAMORE Glen Central

I mean 80% of clients I decide how I work and what I do which is great ...so far we are being left on our devices and for me it works. Erin, FERN

Discretion included control over FLWs own diaries, so that they could make appointments to see clients when and where was best suited to the client (as well as the worker) and decide how often to see clients, for how long and where. Workers were able to make decisions about the client’s needs (carrying out a ‘needs assessment’ for clients at the early stages was standard practice) and which interventions and what support would be most suitable for each individual client. Even at FERN, which operated a highly-standardised delivery framework, FLWs were still free to manage their own diaries, make needs assessments, decide on interventions, and were able to see clients when, where and for as long as they required, as Lewis confirmed:

There's a framework set out and there's a five-stage model that we're working to but how we see them, where we see them, what interventions we use, very much, that's one of the good bits about the job, we're very much left to our own devices. There's a toolkit, go and use it. Lewis, FERN

High levels of discretion among workers were considered to be crucial in order to provide ‘client-centred’ services, particularly because workers were generally dealing with clients with varied and complex issues where a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach was considered to be insufficient to respond to the needs of individual clients:

LARCH...recognises that one-size doesn't fit all and that's the reason why we have to, you know, give our staff on the ground that flexibility to be able enable through a learner-centred approach, so it wouldn't work otherwise. Chloe, Regional Manager, LARCH (Focus Group with FLWs, LARCH)

Any one worker could expect to have a range of varied clients at any one time and while individual services might focus on particular groups of clients (e.g. people with disabilities, young offenders, people with health issues seeking employment) there was great diversity between clients within each group and many clients had multiple and complex needs. Clients, of course, were also individuals and each had unique backgrounds, circumstances, personalities and particular needs which presented challenges for workers to respond and develop a unique relationship to each individual client. In addition, clients could also potentially be at different stages in the service process. Clients at different stages allowed workers to spend varying amounts of time with different clients depending on clients' particular needs and stage in the process so workers were able to spend more time with clients at the early stages, or who were in particular need or 'crisis', while seeing other clients at regular intervals but less frequently, as Lewis explained:

As you know everybody is different, so you've got people at different stages of their development or different stages of their job readiness and you've just got to work with that and...I'm part-time, so I've got 12 clients. Now you might have one of them who's ready to go now, or another 2 just about getting to that stage, and then you have 5 or 6 who are quite a bit from the job market and you're working with them. Lewis, FERN

Having discretion meant workers had the flexibility and control over their own workloads in order to 'juggle' clients with different needs and at different stages and therefore to provide a 'person-centred' approach that responded to clients as individuals with complex and varying needs, and addressed those individual needs.

7.4.3 Boundaries, Emotions and Values

Building relationships with clients was an essential part of the job and one that many workers found rewarding. However, building relationships also brought other issues

such as the potential for crossing 'boundaries', both for workers and for clients. For instance, in terms of the potential blurring or crossing boundaries between worker and client which might compromise the safety or the professionalism of the worker, and/or create dependency in the client.

The 'risk' was particularly recognised at SYCAMORE whose staff underwent 'Boundaries Training' which advised on the limits of the helping relationship between worker and client, including setting expectations of the behaviour both of the worker and the client at the beginning of the worker-client relationship and specifying ways in which a FLW could and could not help clients. Risk assessments carried out in the early stages of seeing a client could help ascertain potential boundary issues that might arise with clients and, as Victoria indicates, flexibility and discretion afforded to FLWs helped them manage the potential boundary issues that might emerge between client and worker:

We do a risk assessment at the beginning of the work we do with them, but that's flexible, that can change, so if I felt uncomfortable or wanted somebody there, then I would just get a colleague to come with me, so again that's your flexibility, it's your judgement and your call. Victoria, SYCAMORE Coppice

One challenge for workers was to be clear about the boundaries between being supportive to a client and being 'friendly'. This was a careful balancing act for workers who felt they needed to be 'friendly' in order to develop a working relationship with clients, but that being supportive might be mistaken by clients as being their friend, thereby blurring the worker-client relationship. Allison recalled one particular client group she worked with for whom the boundaries between the worker as support and the worker as friend became blurred:

When I worked with the women...I think the boundaries from their point of view they saw us as friends in a way, even though we weren't...So, I suppose from their point of view, boundaries became a bit fuzzy, because we were workers but we were also there in a very very supportive role. Allison, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Some workers reported that they were quite clear about the boundaries between themselves and clients. Allison felt it was important to detach herself emotionally from some aspects of her job and, if she found herself having an emotional reaction, not showing it to the client because that could lead to a blurring of the boundaries:

I'm quite good at detaching myself...so I detach myself from the emotional aspects of the job. Even though you feel it, you wouldn't show it ever, for me because that can blur the boundaries...I think you can be supportive without getting too involved. Allison, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Other workers found it more difficult to wholly detach themselves and had to be vigilant on an on-going basis, such as Heather:

You're always mindful [about] being professional, doing your best and remembering what the principles and what the policies are working within those boundaries, because you can quite easily find yourself outwith those boundaries if you're not careful. Heather, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Relationships between clients and FLWs clearly had the potential for an emotional component as Allison indicated above and it could be difficult for some workers to detach themselves emotionally from clients, particularly when working with the vulnerable and disadvantaged. Jessica worked with vulnerable people seeking employment and was sometimes emotionally affected by the circumstances of some of her clients, although this was something she tried to hide away from the clients themselves:

I've had issues where I've dealt with a client, professional this that and the next thing and when the customer's left, I've had to go to the toilet and have a cry. Just because you think, how can that be someone's life, you know. Jessica, FERN

Some workers worked with clients in extreme circumstances where remaining emotionally detached could be difficult. In a previous job with similarly vulnerable people as her current job at FERN, Millie recounted how the suicides of two of her clients impacted on her emotionally:

When I was [with previous employer] I had two suicides. The first one I was absolutely devastated, I couldn't get over it, I just didn't expect it but you never expect it. The second one, just a wee laddie and I thought what a waste. I coped with the second one better than the first one...she had had a hard life that's what was wrong and I thought, oh God what a shame. Millie, FERN

Some workers did break boundaries or even specific project criteria based on strong emotional responses to client circumstances. For instance, in a previous job, Jessica felt compelled to help a young man because he reminded her of her own son and she was explicit about her strong emotional response that prompted her to ignore professional boundaries in this particular instance:

There was a guy who just reminded me so much of my son at [previous organisation]. He was in such a bad way...He had no money for food or anything and I was like slipping him a wee sandwich and bringing him some of my son's clothes and shoes...I just thought, this is bad because I am getting quite involved here and giving food, clothes, this that and the next thing...But it's tough to see someone who has no one else in the world to look after them. It's difficult, it's heart breaking sometimes, but you do what you can but there are boundaries and even myself giving this guy food and clothes..., but from a professional aspect I shouldn't have been doing that, but from a human aspect I was compelled to. Jessica, FERN (emphasis added)

This example illustrates the tension that some FLWs felt between maintaining a professional distance and not getting too involved when at the same time a worker's personal values and seeing an individual in difficulty compelled them to act beyond their formal role.

While emotional responses could often be very personal as in the above examples, sometimes they could involve a number of people as a line manager recalled in an instance when all the office staff contributed to help out a young homeless person who came into the office. In this example, the line manager also identified the difficulties upholding professional boundaries in particular cases (where young people were involved). While helping out the young person in terms of providing them with clothes

and other essentials was one thing (even if still not strictly permitted), it was another thing to go beyond this, even though the emotional reactions of workers might pull them in that direction:

We had a kid that came in. He was probably 16 in homeless accommodation. He didn't have any food. We had to have a whip round of food that we actually had in the office, to give to him.... He was going on some training, didn't have any clothes, didn't have toothbrush, toothpaste, so [Name of Worker] donated things to him, which is not really in her remit, but we would do it anyway just to help these kids out, but then there's the professional boundary. You can't take them home with you and I think that we're all emotional and we're all sensitive to the needs of young people, but we know when we can't move onto that. They have to go back to their homeless accommodation; they cannot come home with us. Leah, Manager, SYCAMORE Central

The emotional aspects of the job of FLWs were also an issue that could potentially create longer term conflicts for workers between the desire to 'help people' and their own emotional well-being. For instance, a number of younger workers (both at SYCAMORE) expressed concern about their ability to carry on in their current jobs over the longer term because of the potential they observed for 'emotional burnout', as Hailey outlined:

I don't know how much longer because it is quite draining ...I do like what I do and I enjoy it but I just don't know if I could do it for the next 10 years because I think it's quite draining sometimes. You take a lot home with you because you just feel for people, you know and I don't know if I could handle that for 10 years. Hailey, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Some young workers were therefore prepared to consider leaving their careers in the future if they reached a stage where they felt their well-being was suffering because of the accumulative emotional aspects of 'helping people'.

7.4.4 Resources

Limited resources could create tensions for FLWs where project budgets available to spend on clients (e.g. on training) or staff expenses (e.g. travelling) were limited and

where cuts to staffing resources resulted in less staff time being available to spend on a project than was the case previously. In addition, tensions were created where there was high or variable demands for services and where the demands made of a service (e.g. in terms of numbers of clients) exceeded the staffing resources available to meet those demands. Limited resources and high or variable demands are considered separately below:

Limited Resources

A number of workers explained that project budgets to help clients with things such as training were either limited or non-existent. Limited budgets to support clients were not uncommon and created a potential tension for workers since they were unable to help clients to the extent that they wanted to. Erin explained that although the project allowed her to work longer with clients, it was restricted in its budget to support other activities for the client, such as training:

We work longer with every customer...However, there is no money to spend on customers...you would like to spend the money on like training, but there is no money. Erin, FERN

Where budgets were limited, some workers sought alternative ways to help a client, such as accessing other services (both internal and external to the organisation) which could support clients with the resources they needed. For instance, Amelia accessed resources for clients through engaging with other parts of her service and with other charities:

We put food parcels out as part of our service, you know, we can engage with charities to get things like that. Amelia, SYCAMORE Glen Central

For some workers, restricted resources meant that they had less funding available to cover their own day-to-day expenses, particularly travel, since many of the services visited clients outwith the organisation's offices. Michael explained how he had become more conscious of managing his own expenses in terms of travelling to visit clients in more distant locations, and he was concerned to keep his costs to a minimum by reducing the frequency of such visits:

I'm more conscious now of how tightly I can control the expense [of] travelling. I'm more conscious of trying to restrict of possibilities of me having to go to [place name] twice in a week because it's probably a 40-mile trip... apart from the time involved, but the actual expense of doing that. Although I don't think I've ever been profligate, we have always been aware of the financial costs, I may be more diligent keeping that cost to an absolute minimum. Michael, SYCAMORE Coppice

Michael also found alternative solutions to compensate for fewer client visits by using other means of engaging with clients such as via telephone and text:

it can end up with more telephone calls and text messages. Michael SYCAMORE Coppice

However, occasionally workers used their own resources to help clients. Zoe recounted how she helped one of her clients with her own money because there were no resources in her project budget to do so. She explained the dire circumstances of her client that led her to decide to help him with buying him food:

One of my guys was released from prison. He went back to his house but...they wanted £1000 to re-connect [his electricity] so effectively he was homeless. He had no money. His benefits weren't up and running. So, I'd taken him to his mums for a couple of nights, but she's "You're not staying here any longer". So, I met him in the town. He'd had nothing to eat. He was sleeping rough in like the city centre, so I just took him for his dinner, bought him food...but I couldn't go to my boss and say, look could we help this guy out because we've done it previous we were told 'no', we have no money in the budget for that, so I did it myself. Zoe, SYCAMORE Glen North

High or fluctuating demand for services

A number of projects had also experienced funding cuts that had resulted in reduced staff time being allocated to projects. This was a common experience in SYCAMORE and LARCH. At LARCH most of the FLWs worked part-time and had experienced a reduction in time due to budget cuts to projects. One worker, Ava, was currently working part-

time across two geographical areas to maximise her income, but even so, she claimed she needed to work extra hours in order to complete her job:

[I was] down to two days at one point, which is not enough to survive on...so I have to be quite flexible and at the moment I'm working two days in [Area X] and two days in [Area Y] ...I mean there just isn't enough money really and so we end up doing a lot of work in our own time. Ava, LARCH

Several services at SYCAMORE had undergone re-structuring resulting in fewer staff working on projects. At the same time, some workers felt the number of referrals to their services had remained constant resulting in increased workload and potentially causing conflict for FLWs, as it did for Victoria who felt that there was less time to spend with clients as a consequence:

Funding cuts is a massive thing. We've just [been] through a restructure again and this will be the second one in about 5 years...we're now down to four in our team, but still taking the same amount of referrals so you're stretched more which means less time with young people and ultimately that's the key to being frontline, but I think you're that far stretched and the budgets are that far stretched that you're not getting the quality time that you should be getting. Victoria, SYCAMORE Coppice

A number of services reported facing high or fluctuating demand for services and as well as affecting the time which FLWs could spend with clients, heavy workloads could cause additional stress for staff. Eve recalled a previous experience on a project within SYCAMORE where a high client load combined with the introduction of a new electronic case management system put her under stress, as well as taking away time from clients:

I came from a really really busy service up in [another area] and I was definitely a lot more stressed up there because the client load that I had coupled with the work, and this was when the new case management system was being brought in and they were asking you to do this and do that and do web stats, and trying to fit that into a part-time week was nigh on impossible, so you were running

around chasing your tail and I suppose you couldn't give your undivided attention to a service user. Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice

Sarah worked for a service where demand typically fluctuated between periods of high demand and intensive work and periods of lower demand, where work was less intensive:

[The workload] is very variable. It always has been. In March we had 33 referrals and then in April we had 6... that's how it is and it always will because we have no control who is going to refer to us month on month. Sarah, SYCAMORE Glen Central

There were a number of strategies that FLWs could access in order to help manage a high or fluctuating workload. Workload planning helped workers manage heavy or fluctuating workloads. One busy service at SYCAMORE tried to spread out their referrals as far as possible in order to avoid having too many clients at the initial stages:

When we get our referrals we try and spread them out so of the people who are coming out, you'll get 5 at once coming out [of prison and into the service] that would just be too much, so you would try and spread them out as much as you can. Hailey, SYCAMORE Glen Central

In another example, a FLW at FERN managed clients who were at different stages of the process and who required different levels of interventions depending on what stage they were at. This worker aimed to have a steady throughput of clients so that he could manage the demands of clients at different stages:

You've got people at different stages of their development or different stages of their job readiness ...I'm part-time, so I've got 12 clients. Now you might have one of them who's ready to go now, or another 2 just about getting to that stage, and then you have 5 or 6 who are quite a bit from the job market and you're working with them...as long as you keep getting the clients coming at this end, this lot will move on. Lewis, FERN

As can be seen from both these examples, managing workload through planning had its limitations since workers could never predict exactly the demand for services at any one time. Another way in which workload fluctuations could be managed at SYCAMORE was through the organisation-wide flexitime scheme. This system allowed workers to work additional hours over and above their normal contracted hours when service demand was high and then take off the additional hours worked at another time in the future when service demand was lower. Sarah explained how having the flexitime scheme helped her to manage potential conflicts by allowing her to work longer at busy times so she could keep on top of the workload which reduced her stress levels:

You're not supposed to build up too many [flexitime hours], but you can, so I think it's just doing that for a short period and just trying to get things done because it just makes you feel better at the end of the day if you do rather than leaving it and leaving it. If you can actually get things sorted it does help you to deal with the stress of being busy. Sarah, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Another strategy that was utilised by FLWs managing high demand for services was prioritising some aspects of their job over others. When faced with competing tasks that could not equally be accomplished within the allocated time, some employees focused their energies on what they perceived to be the key tasks and deprioritised other tasks that were not seen to be central. For instance, front-line staff frequently de-prioritised paperwork, and prioritised work directly with clients, because paperwork was not perceived to be a core part of the service they provided and had limited value for the clients on whom they were focused. Paperwork, thus, generally came at the bottom of their priority list (also see 7.4.5):

Although I acknowledge the importance of paperwork and evidence for our funders etc., for the gathering and the reporting side of it, it's really time consuming. It's usually done in your own time and who benefits from it, well the funders, the fundee, the learner not very much so, maybe in the certificate parts of it... so it's always put on the back burner for me because it's the learner at the centre and so I'll work with them and they'll get everything that they need and then we do the other bit in a short time later kind of thing, enough to get by. Emily, LARCH

7.4.5 Paperwork and Targets

The case study of SYCAMORE in Chapter Six has already outlined in some detail the value conflict that occurred between some FLWs and senior management over the values of ‘business-focus’ and ‘client-focus’. This section will examine the potential value conflict more specifically, between paperwork and targets, and a client-focused approach. This section focuses on the potential conflict between paperwork/targets and client-focus at FERN in order to highlight the different responses to this value conflict between FLWs at FERN and those noted in the Chapter Six case study of FLWs at SYCAMORE (see 6.5.2).

To summarise the situation at SYCAMORE, a focus on targets generally translated into high volumes of ‘paperwork’ for FLWs and Eve at SYCAMORE explained how a target focus manifested at a practical level in her job (*‘paperwork and reports and everything’*), expressing concern that the target focus was potentially overshadowing the client focus:

I think that there is a target focus within everything we do, you’re constantly doing annual reports and constantly talking to funders about engagement and referrals and numbers and outcomes and all these different things that you’re constantly evidencing the need for your service through tons and tons and tons of paperwork and reports and everything, evaluation tools and everything...And I think it’s becoming more and more focused on outcomes and stats rather than service user progression. Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice

Increasing levels of paperwork and targets was a concern for a number of workers at SYCAMORE (as noted in the case study in Chapter 6). In practice, workers protected time with clients as much as possible by prioritising clients over paperwork where a time conflict emerged, as we saw in the previous section (7.4.4). While paperwork was unpopular among FLWs, the positive aspects of the job, such as the opportunity for client contact, flexibility and enacting values associated with ‘helping people’ helped workers cope with the negative aspects of the job, such as paperwork:

I hate the paperwork side of it, because it’s massive, but the actual interacting with people I think is why anybody comes into this kind of sector, because you

actually want to help somebody and I think that's what I enjoy the most. Hailey, SYCAMORE Glen Central

'Paperwork' was also reported to be a 'challenge' at FERN, at least in terms of the sheer amount of paperwork that required completion by FLWs. Relatively new to FERN, Jessica found the volume of paperwork that was required a major challenge compared to what she was used to in her previous job:

The thing that I found most challenging...is the paperwork, keeping on top of it because I'm more a people-person if you like, I'll chat, coach my clients...[and] goodness, I've been at this two hours, I'd better fill this in. That's the challenge I find here, keeping on top of paperwork etc. etc. Jessica, FERN

Targets were an inherent feature of project work at FERN (as was mentioned in the Chapter Six case study on the organisation) with the main project, Consortium, driven by the standardised Delivery Model, which had outcomes targets for FLW to record and meet. However, the response to the requirements for targets was somewhat different among FLWs at FERN than it was at SYCAMORE, with FLWs at FERN generally being much more accepting of the targets and with few apparent value conflicts between management and FLWs emerging. The reason why targets were largely not perceived to be a value conflict among FLWs at FERN may lie in the fact that most of the workers had already been working within target-orientated environments for some time, either in previous employment or working on other projects within FERN. For instance, Millie explains that the money-orientated culture of a previous private sector employer took priority over clients:

It was money orientated. Every person that came through the door at [previous organisation] was worth money...It really wasn't about what was best for that client. They didn't care. Millie, FERN

Similarly, Erin recalls her previous experience in a private sector employer whose high targets and commercial orientation left her feeling she was no longer helping people anymore and so she decided to leave:

[There were] very high targets, quite unrealistic and basically became really commercial. We didn't help any more we were just sort of filling out boxes...[I] didn't really feel that we were doing anything good up there so [I] just decided to leave. Erin, FERN

This kind of previous experience meant that when Millie worked on a previous project within FERN where targets were introduced, she reported 'it wasn't new to me' (Millie), a sentiment echoed by Isla who also felt she had already become accustomed to a target-focused approach:

I've been kind of used to that through working with [previous employer] over the years, they're funding was very much output focused. Isla, FERN

FLWs at FERN generally appeared to be reconciled to the need to meet targets, especially as the perception of the targets was that they were realistic in terms of what could be achieved with clients. For instance, as the case study of FERN in Chapter Six illustrated, management had been keen that targets only determined a portion of the funding for the project (30 per cent) with the remaining funding not dependent on targets but on time spent working with clients:

The targets aren't overly high as far as I'm concerned, so just keep working with the clients and the targets will almost achieve themselves. Lewis, FERN

Targets could also be reframed as a positive for clients themselves. For instance, Millie felt targets helped to focus on moving clients forward towards a 'better life' because targets could give clients routine and purpose:

Well I think [the targets are] a good thing. It's about moving people on and I personally feel if you just dodge along with somebody they'll never be able to make that step to get a better life, it's not about getting your outcome, it's about each individual, each client you get a job for, it gives them routine, it's gives them banter, it's gives them a purpose. Millie, FERN

Therefore, from Millie's point of view, targets were not perceived to threaten a client-focused approach and indeed might help provide focus for a client. For other workers,

also, targets in themselves were not perceived to be more important than clients. Compared to her experience with previous employers, Jessica found FERN to be less driven by targets and more focused on clients.

Out of all the organisations and companies that I've worked for its [FERN] probably the one that's put least pressure for outcomes. Certainly at [previous employer A] it was highly targeted, very highly targeted. [Previous employer B] as well was fairly target driven. This is target-driven but you don't feel driven.
Jessica, FERN

FLWs who had previous experience of working with targets (and particularly where the targets were perceived to be more excessive) seemed to be accepting of targets and, in some cases, able to view them positively. Targets at FERN were not perceived to challenge the client-focused approach which remained central to the service provision ethos.

7.4.6 Job Conditions

There were a number of conditions associated with workers' jobs that were reported by FLWs to cause potential conflicts between their values and their self-interest. On the one hand, staff were often highly committed to working in their jobs and valued working with clients and 'making a difference' to clients' lives (as was illustrated in section 7.3 of this chapter). On the other hand, some of the conditions of the jobs (which gave workers the opportunity to enact their values), also created challenges for workers' financial and psychological wellbeing. This section will examine some common conditions of workers' jobs including reduced working hours, the prevalence of short-term contracts and uncertainty over contract renewal that led to job insecurity and potential financial difficulties and anxiety for workers. Having examined some of the challenging job conditions and their consequences for the well-being of workers, this section then examines how workers managed the potential conflicts that emerged because of negative job conditions.

Reduced working hours, short-term contracts, uncertainty over contract renewal as well as short-term notification of contract renewal, were experienced by FLWs in SYCAMORE

and LARCH and the next section [7.4.7] also deals with how some workers at SYCAMORE had had their working hours decreased as a result of reduced project funding. Moving from full-time to part-time hours was not always compatible with a workers personal circumstances as Lillian explained when the hours for FLWs in her service were reduced:

Now one colleague was happy about taking a reduction in hours and going down to minimal hours. That suited her personal circumstances. Myself and my other colleague were like, well no, really we need full time hours, but we both need jobs. Lillian, SYCAMORE Coppice

Similarly, Ava at LARCH had financial difficulties when her hours were reduced to two days a week:

I was down to two days at one point, which is not enough to survive on. Ava, LARCH

Many workers at SYCAMORE worked on short-term contracts of one year, with extensions to contracts dependent on securing further project funding. One-year contracts represented a reduction of security for workers since three-year contracts had been the norm in the past. Workers also experienced uncertainty over whether contracts would be renewed in the future because of challenging financial circumstances for the organisation and possible changes to priorities. Victoria expressed some of her uncertainties surrounding her own service:

In terms of planning and things like that you don't know what's going to be there next year so you might not be in the same position financially. Victoria, SYCAMORE Coppice

This insecurity could be compounded when notice of contract renewal was short. For instance, Hannah explained that notice of contract funding being renewed could be at the 'last minute' which created financial uncertainties for her:

It might well happen at the last minute but I can't rely on that or a promise that we will apply and that we might get it. There's too many ifs and buts in that variation for me to live my life and pay my bills. Hannah, SYCAMORE Glen North

FERN was an exception in terms of length of contract because the main project 'Consortium' (which was only in its third month of operation at the time of the fieldwork) offered full-time jobs for a contract period of four years. In the other CSOs, reduced hours (and consequently reduced pay) could lead to financial uncertainty and anxiety for some workers. Alex had been through a service restructuring at SYCAMORE where his hours were reduced to four days a week. He described his anxiety during this period and that he felt thankful that after two years on part-time hours his hours had returned to full-time:

So that was obviously a difficult two years, although it was good having a Friday off...I had long weekends, but that didn't help financially... [I was just] managing to survive, keep my head above water. So again, getting the full-time back again was a blessing. Alex, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Reduced hours and lower pay also had potential longer-term financial consequences for some FLWs. In her 50s, and living alone, Ava worked part-time at LARCH, and was concerned about her financial well-being in retirement. So much so, that she felt it was something she would have to address in the future, even though she was committed to her current job:

I don't know how long I can actually go on like that because you've got to kind of think about personally, not getting any younger, so about retiring and... it never seems to be that you can save enough... I think over the next couple of years that'll have to be something I really look at seriously because it's all very well and good saying I like my job and just getting by but actually I've got to think a bit more seriously about that, so that's a challenge for me. Ava, LARCH

Short-term contracts and uncertainty over future contract renewal also created financial concerns for some workers such as difficulties obtaining a mortgage, buying a car or even keeping up the housing rents. Late notification of funding renewal could cause particular concerns as Charlotte explains when she needed to think about whether to renew the six-month lease on her rented flat:

I was asking weekly, have we heard, [about the contract being renewed] ...it was just like the funders will tell us when the funders decide and that meant I felt a bit in limbo [for a] while. Do I sign my contract for another 6 months, or do I just have to keep holding off? So I don't really like it from that point of view. It's kind of doable for a year, but when it gets to that year and you still don't know and it's getting closer and closer and closer and you've got no idea. How can you plan for yourself and for the young people as well? Charlotte, SYCAMORE Glen North

Short-term contracts and uncertainties over funding also have an impact on workers' psychological well-being. For instance, Anna described the anxiety she experienced when her one-year contract was coming up for renewal a few months before the field-work took place:

Personally, how does it affect me? It's nerve wracking. I mean it makes you worried because you've got a house, you've got kids, you've got the rest of it, but you just get on with it and make the best of what you can I suppose. Anna, SYCAMORE Glen Central

The impact on workers wellbeing of reduced working hours, short-term contacts, uncertainty over contract renewal and lack notification of contract renewal have been illustrated above. These conditions, which were associated with some of the FLWs working contracts, potentially created conflicts for some workers between wanting to enact their values of 'helping others' and their own well-being. Eve summed up the value conflict she experienced between the value of wanting to help people and concerns over her own financial and personal well-being that might be undermined by insecure working conditions:

You've got that sort of moral dilemma like I actually enjoy the work that I'm doing and I enjoy working with the people that I'm working with. I really enjoy the job but, I suppose it's a bit selfish isn't it, but I suppose you need to think about yourself and your family and your needs as well and if the casual nature of it does suit you or not. Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice

FLWs had a number of different responses to the potential conflict between their values and their wellbeing in their current job. Some responses were practical, while others were psychology. One practical strategy employed by three part-time workers in order to ensure greater financial security was to have two part-time jobs. Two workers had part-time jobs within the same organisation (Ava at LARCH, and Sarah at SYCAMORE), while Zoe (at SYCAMORE) had a job with another organisation. Having two jobs gave these workers a greater sense of financial security in the event that one of the jobs ended:

I'm kind of lucky because I have a second job as well, so if this was to end and I didn't have anything else I've always got that to fall back on. Zoe, SYCAMORE Glen North

At SYCAMORE, a number of FLWs reported that they actively sought employment elsewhere in the period running up to contract renewal. If and when workers existing contracts were renewed then they would cease their search for alternative employment. For instance, this worker admitted to looking for alternative employment in the previous few months but had currently stopped looking for work after her contract had been recently renewed just prior to the interview taking place:

I have looked [for other jobs] and I have looked at all different kinds of jobs just to keep my options open. I'm not looking now, so short-term future I'm happy to stay with SYCAMORE and hope that things settle down and [we can] keep doing what we're doing. Sarah, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Some workers actively sought better job security because of their family circumstances. For instance, Ethan was on a temporary contract at SYCAMORE but had recently obtained a permanent job in his chosen field of psychology. Recently married and looking to start a family, Ethan explained that securing a permanent position was 'a relief, definitely' (Ethan, SYCAMORE Glen North). Another worker at SYCAMORE was happy with her current contract for the time being but considered that increased job security in future might become a priority if her personal circumstances change. Eve was in her mid-20s and was looking ahead to a possible change of career in the future, specifically for increased job security, if she had a family.

I suppose getting into my late 20s, focusing on family and future and now you're starting to think about pensions and all that kind of stuff, which you don't really think about when you're in your early 20s, late teens. It does make you think about whether the year on year funding in the long term is the right thing for you. So... I have thought about going back to university and doing a post-grad in Social Work or possibly in Teaching or something like that, just to get that job security. Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice

In the face of potential conflicts between enacting values of 'helping people' and their own well-being, a number of workers employed psychological strategies that reframed their circumstances either in a way that managed their own expectations or reframed their experience in a positive way. For instance, a number of workers felt that job insecurity was a feature of the third sector generally, and not specific to their own organisation:

I mean that's the way it is in this industry. Unfortunately, there is uncertainty for staff around funding. Jessica, FERN

Allison, who had worked with SYCAMORE for 23 years, linked insecurity in the third sector with the wider political environment and while she felt that the third sector had always felt less secure, she also felt that the insecurity had intensified with funding cuts coming in several years ago.

[There is] less security [in the third sector]. It's always been that way...but...personally I never felt we wouldn't be funded and...when the funding cuts did happen I would say from round about 2007/8 to date, it's been a completely different type of environment working for SYCAMORE. You no longer feel safe and I guess that's not just SYCAMORE that's any voluntary, third sector organisation. Allison, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Sarah felt that the uncertainty in the sector was something that workers had come to accept, but also felt that uncertainty was not necessarily restricted to third sector:

It's partly the nature of being in the voluntary sector that there will always be a bit of uncertainty about funding and so on, I think we all accept that, and we

know that our jobs are not guaranteed and you just live with that, but you know I think that's basically any job now really. No job is guaranteed anymore. Sarah, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Given that workers perceive job insecurity to be a wider feature of the third sector (and the labour market more broadly), it is not surprising that a number of FLWs framed their experience of job insecurity or part time work positively in the sense that at least they still had a job, as exemplified by Alex:

There's always that uncertainty every year, but I look at that as, I'm still in a job. There's other people who haven't got one, so at least I'm still in a job, whether it'll be part-time or not. Alex, SYCAMORE Glen North

Like Anna (below), some workers also coped with job insecurity by focusing on the positive aspects of their job such as salary and conditions which they considered overall 'outweighed' the negative aspects of job insecurity:

It's always at the back of my mind because of what's just happened, but I always think that there isn't many jobs at 35 hours...that is flexible, that has got a good salary, that's good holidays, so yes it probably does outweigh it to be fair. And as long as I can keep working here then I will. Anna, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Some staff dwelt on the positive aspects of their jobs such as being able to put into practice personal values of helping people. For all the job insecurities that impacted on her financial security (as we saw above), Charlotte felt that ultimately working in the third sector allowed her to help people and provided her with 'meaningful' work that would be less likely in other sectors of the economy:

I think that it feels like you're able to do more meaningful work [in the Third Sector]. Other sectors are maybe more legislated and more defined, you can do this and you definitely cannot do this, and you can only work with these certain groups of people. Whereas in the third sector it feels like you're able to go above and beyond to help... and helping them [clients] is really what makes it worthwhile. Charlotte, SYCAMORE Glen North

7.4.7 Conflicts with Senior Managers at SYCAMORE

The case study in Chapter Six demonstrated that value conflicts between ‘business-focused’ values and targets, and ‘client-focused’ values occurred between senior managers and some FLWs. However, tensions over ‘business-focused’ values and ‘client-focused’ values were not the only conflicts that happened between senior management and FLW at SYCAMOREs and many staff interviewed expressed negative opinions about the proposed change to working hours (to increase the working week from 35 hours to 37.5 hours without additional payment for staff) that set them in conflict with management who made the proposal.

Some staff disagreed with the proposal to increase working hours without additional pay on principle, as was exemplified by Allison:

I don't agree with it because they're getting more out of us and we're getting less, we're not getting paid extra for it. Allison, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Senior management argued that increasing working hours would make SYCAMORE more competitively priced when bidding for funding and the proposal to increase working hours had followed a series of recent unsuccessful funding bid attempts (see case study in Chapter 6). However, many staff remained unconvinced that increasing staff hours would make the organisation more competitive in funding applications:

[Senior Management have] been talking to us in consultation about this new idea of increasing the working hours and saying that it makes us competitive. I don't really buy it. I think that we do a good service. I understand that they think they feel they have to do this. I don't really think it makes the tenders really more competitive. Sarah, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Perceptions of the mistreatment of staff by management also represented a value conflict for some FLWs since their expectations of management behaviour were not being met. A number of staff felt that staff had been poorly treated by management during the course of the consultation on working hours, in particular by giving staff spurious reasons for wanting the change rather than the real reason. Lillian felt particularly

strongly that senior management lacked honesty in its approach to staff and, as a result, felt senior management had treated her with a lack of respect:

They are... saying it's so we can be more competitive for tendering... that's a lie in itself..... [if] somebody can give me a reasonably explanation that satisfies me, then I'm fine but I'm told I don't work at that level and they don't need an explanation and that's just how it is, that doesn't answer my question...I don't like people treating me as an idiot. Lillian, SYCAMORE Coppice

Lillian was not the only member of staff to express concern over the treatment of staff by senior management. Hannah felt that the managerial structure in the organisation was 'very top-down' and that for FLWs:

The word 'minion' has been used...it does feel like that sometimes that we're very far detached from the powers that be within SYCAMORE and that our voice is not entirely heard a lot of the time. Hannah, SYCAMORE Coppice

Ultimately, some staff felt that the management approach to increasing working hours of FLW was based on a financial motivation that would have a damaging effect on staff motivation especially when staff were already working above and beyond what they were paid for. Eve, below, felt an increase in working hours would undermine the 'good will' shown by staff and would led to staff feeling devalued:

I think if it was felt that it was necessary for services users, and it wasn't a kind of financial thing, I would see it as a really positive thing. However, I feel that it may demotivate staff because more staff are running at capacity at the moment anyway, run over their lunch hours and kind of work because it's kind of good will...Most SYCAMORE staff members will go above and beyond for their services, for their service users, so I suppose the worry is that people are seen as devalued because theoretically it is a drop in salary. Eve, SYCAMORE Coppice

Workers employed mostly psychological strategies to help them manage the value conflicts that emerged with senior managers, mostly in the form of managing their own expectations of the job. Similar to some workers facing job insecurity as illustrated in

7.4.6, a number of workers expressed the opinion that even if working hours were to increase, they would still be in a fortunate position of having a job:

At the end of the day... we both feel that as long as we've got a job we're happy to kind of crack on with it. Hailey, SYCAMORE Glen Central

There had also been various restructures to services and multiple rounds of redundancies and in the previous year alone (2014-2015) staff numbers had reduced by 38 per cent (from 408 to 253 employees). It was perhaps not surprising that some remaining staff simply felt glad to have a job in the organisation. Alex also felt fortunate to have a job which is a response that perhaps reflects his feeling of powerlessness to challenge the introduction of increased hours. Alex's view of feeling fortunate to have a job was compounded by perceptions of a competitive labour market:

I look at that and say well, ok get my hours increased to 37.5 for no extra pay, so be it. I've got a job. That's always the saving grace is that you've got a job, why are you complaining. You can't complain, you're on a hiding to nothing. You can't go to unions or anything anymore. It's pointless. You'll do as your told or somebody else will come...there's thousands out there waiting to take your job. That's my viewpoint on that. Alex, SYCAMORE Glen Central

Another worker contrasted the prospect of the introduction of increased working hours with her experience of having to previously go through service restructuring and have her hours cut, and felt by contrast the increased working hours would be more manageable particularly since it meant she still had a job:

In all honesty, it's not the most important thing given what we've went through and I went down to part-time and a big massive cut in my wages and stuff, I do not see it as a massive thing...If it keeps me in a job, then I'm not going to fight it. If they keep it to 35 hours then it's a bonus, but there's people in here that's lost their jobs, so to me it's not my biggest concern. I'm still in a job, I've still got money coming in. Victoria, SYCAMORE Coppice

Other workers focused on the positive aspects of the job such as they enjoyed the job, and where still able to do a job that enabled them to help clients

I can motivate myself on that one because I care about the kids. Not just the kids. I care about the victims. I care about the people in general that are involved in these sorts of things. Anthony, SYCAMORE Glen Central

In addition, some workers also appreciated other aspects of the job, such as Hannah, who feels that SYCAMORE trusted her to use her own discretion during the course of her job:

I just find it a positive experience when I'm working directly with service users... The hands-on operation work that I love. I also quite like, in terms of working for SYCAMORE, I quite like that they put a lot of trust in me... I'm able to manage my time, whatever way I see fit as long as I'm doing my hours. Hannah, SYCAMORE Glen North

However, a couple of workers had considered leaving the organisation as a result of value conflicts with management. For instance, Anthony had considered leaving but felt that on balance: (a) he would not get another job because of on-going health issues, and; (b) he enjoyed working with the clients.

I've [got]... an illness that will never get any better, it will just progressively get worse, so I'm not going to get another job. I like the job. I like working with the kids. Anthony, SYCAMORE Glen Central

7.4.8 Summary

This section examined the value conflicts that were experienced by FLWs in the CSOs, including the potential consequences of conflicts and a series of strategies that FLWs employed to help them minimise or resolve potential conflicts. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Value Conflicts, Consequences and Strategies

VALUE CONFLICT	POTENTIAL/ACTUAL CONSEQUENCES	STRATEGIES
Project Criteria (including Standardised Framework)	Limits ability of FLWs to help clients	Finding alternative solutions Signposting Flexibility and Discretion
Boundaries and Emotions	‘Blurring’ boundaries in client-worker relationship Emotional responses to client circumstances Potential for emotional ‘burnout’	Boundaries training Setting clear boundaries Going beyond criteria Consider career break
Resources <i>Limited resources</i> <i>High or fluctuating demand</i>	Limits ability of FLWs to help clients Limits FLWs’ ability to help clients Challenges FLWs’ well-being	Finding alternative solutions Accessing other services Using own resources Workload planning Flexitime Prioritising
Paperwork and targets	Takes time away from helping clients	Focus on positives Acceptance Prioritising
Job insecurity	Uncertainty Financial insecurity Anxiety Difficulties planning	Two jobs Seeking alternative (more secure) employment Managing expectations Focus on positives
Conflict with senior management at SYCAMORE	Disagreement over need to increase working hours for FLWs Perception of treating staff with lack of respect Potential to de-motivate staff	Managing expectations Focus on positives

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented data from interviews carried out with FLWs in three third sector organisations in order to examine a number of research questions in relation to values, identity and value conflicts experienced by workers

The first research question centred on the values of third sector employees and consisted of three key parts: (1) What key values are central to third sector employees, and why are they important? (2) How far do third sector employees experience value conflicts? (3) What are the sources of these value conflicts, in particular, is there conflict between 'client-focus' versus 'business-orientated' values?

The findings presented in this chapter were able to demonstrate that a key value shared among FLWs was that of 'helping people' which found expression in adopting a 'person-centred' approach to working with clients. These values were important to FLWs because they gave work meaning and provided workers with a sense of identity. It was clear from the findings that FLWs commonly experienced value conflicts in the course of their day-to-day working lives and that conflicts between 'client-focused' values and 'business-orientated' values underpinned or exacerbated many of the day-to-day conflicts experienced by FLWs, particularly conflicts around limited resources, paperwork and targets and job conditions. However, not all conflicts were underpinned by conflicts between 'client-focused' values and 'business-orientated' values: building relationships with clients was essential to the jobs of FLWs and were rewarding for them, but relationships with clients could also challenge professional boundaries where powerful values and emotions were involved. The source of value conflicts is discussed and developed further in relation to the literature in 8.2.2 in the next chapter (Chapter Eight).

The second research question introduced at the beginning of this chapter focused on the extent to which values were shared between different workers and groups within organisations. In particular: (1) To what extent are the same values shared by different individual workers and groups in the organisation and do conflicts of values emerge between different groups? (2) In terms of social identity process this question can be re-phrased as 'How far does the individual identify with other particular groups, e.g. who

are perceived to be the 'in' groups and the 'out' groups? (3) To what extent are values a source of identity differentiation between and within groups?'

In response to (1) and (3) of the above, the findings showed that the value of 'helping people' by adopting a 'person-centred' approach was shared between FLWs across the different CSOs and provided a common source of FLW identity. However, while a 'person-centred' approach provided a shared identity between FLWs, it was also a source of differentiation between FLWs and other groups in organisations (particularly senior managers), who were (in some cases) perceived to value a 'business-orientated' approach over a 'client-focused' approach. Section 3.3.3 in the next chapter (Chapter Eight) discusses these findings further (particularly point 2 above) and their implications for the existing literature on values and identity and in the context of the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Four.

The third and final research question raised at the beginning of this chapter focused on how value conflicts were managed by FLWs: How do individuals manage values conflicts? What strategies (if any) do they employ to help resolve or limit the conflicts? The larger part of this chapter was dedicated to exploring how FLWs in the CSOs managed value conflicts and the strategies they used.

As Table 7.1 (above, in 7.4.8) illustrates, this chapter identified several distinct value conflicts experienced by FLWs across the CSOs, including the potential or actual consequences of each conflict experienced by FLWs, and the range of strategies that FLWs adopted in order to manage each conflict. Section 8.2.2 in the next chapter (Chapter Eight) takes a closer look at these findings in relation to the existing literature concerning how employees manage value conflicts.

This chapter has presented findings from the research focusing on FLWs: their values, the extent to which their values are shared by other workers, the value conflicts they experience and how value conflicts are managed. In doing so, this chapter was able to shed light on a number of research questions posed at the beginning of the chapter. The next chapter (Chapter Eight) discusses the findings (from Chapter Six as well as from this

chapter) more specifically in relation to the relevant literature. Chapter Eight goes beyond answering the research questions posed at the beginning of Chapters Six and Seven and seeks to reflect on what the findings imply for the existing literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three and the theoretical framework developed in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

The core aims of this thesis were to examine how value conflicts manifested and were managed within the third sector in Scotland, with particular focus on front-line workers. Chapters Two and Three outlined existing literature concerning third sector organisations and their workforces while Chapter Four detailed the theoretical framework. Chapters Six and Seven presented findings from research carried out within three third sector case study organisations based in Scotland. This chapter discusses the findings presented in Chapters Six and Seven in the light of the previous literature and theoretical framework from Chapters Two, Three and Four, and the following research questions:

- How do the tensions between different values in organisations manifest in particular contexts?
- How far do third sector employees experience value conflicts? What are the sources of these value conflicts?
- How far does the individual identify with other particular groups, e.g. who are perceived to be the 'in' groups and the 'out' groups? To what extent are values a source of identity differentiation between and within groups?
- How do individuals manage values conflicts? What strategies (if any) do they employ to help resolve the conflicts?

This chapter is composed of two sections, divided into 'domain-specific' theory and 'meta-theory' (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014; see 5.5): the first section deals with 'domain-specific' theory and examines the findings from the case studies in relation to research questions about value conflicts, how they manifest and how they are managed and will consider the extent to which the findings support or otherwise the existing literature; the second section focuses on 'meta-theory' and examines the findings in relation to the broader conceptual framework which was developed in Chapter Four and

considers how useful this framework is for developing our understanding of human behaviour from a Critical Realist (CR) position.

8.2 Discussion of Value Conflicts within the Third Sector in Scotland

The literature reviewed in Chapter Two illustrated the historical development of the third sector, particularly in relation to policy over the last 30 years. Chapter Two demonstrated that the sector's role in providing public services had increased in the years up to, and particularly during, the New Labour government (1997-2010). While policy in relation to the third sector in Scotland began to slightly diverge from 2007 because of devolution (Alcock 2009), the sector was still significantly affected by the austerity policies of the Coalition Government (2010-2015) and the Conservative Government led by David Cameron (2015-2016) as well as by Scottish Government policy (Hastings et al 2015) resulting in a reduction in the workforce and less favourable terms and conditions for those remaining in the third sector workforce (Baines and Cunningham 2015; Cunningham et al 2013). This thesis aimed to examine the role of values at different levels (organisational, individual) and possible conflicts between different values in the context of the third sector organisations which deliver public services.

The first part of this section deals with the question of how value conflicts manifest within third sector organisations at the organisational (senior management and governance) level and examines the usefulness of notions of 'hybridisation' and conflicting institutional 'logics' in understanding value conflicts. The second part of this section examines how value conflicts manifest at the level of individual front-line workers within the CSOs and examines the findings from the study in relation to the existing literature regarding motivation and ethos of employees in the public and third sectors. The second part also considers how value conflicts manifest for FLWs and identifies three distinct types of value conflicts experienced by the FLWs in the study. The broader causes of value conflicts among FLWs are then considered in relation to policy, before going on to examine the relationship between psychological and practical strategies to manage value conflicts which are considered in relation to the existing work on 'Street Level Bureaucrats'. Finally, this section is concluded by considering how FLWs manage value

conflicts using key aspects of a CR framework to see if employing a CR framework can contribute to our understanding of how value conflicts are managed.

8.2.1 How do value conflicts manifest within third sector organisations? Hybridity and institutional 'logics'

A number of authors have argued that New Public Management (NPM) techniques introduced into public service delivery organisations have resulted in tensions between 'public sector' values and 'private sector' values (e.g. Hood 1991). The third sector has increased its role in delivering public services resulting in increased policy pressure on third sector organisations to hybridise, particularly since 1997 (Harris 2010), resulting in an increasing 'blurring of the boundaries' between the state, the market and the third sector (Kendall and Knapp 1995; Taylor 2004), and resulting in different and competing 'institutional logics' within TSOs (Skelcher and Smith 2013).

Billis' (2010a; 2010b) model of hybridity was utilised to explain the relationship between sectors and hybrid zones within each of the case study organisations. Both LARCH and SYCAMORE fall within the Third/Public mix hybrid zone, whereby they are both historically and currently constituted first and foremost as third sector organisations, but they both rely heavily on public sector funding to deliver public services. There was no significant separate Private Sector principle evident since neither were involved to any significant extent with the private sector, although a private sector principle had been imported via the public sector principle in that public funding was accompanied by certain conditions (or instance, related to NPM techniques, as well as the competitive public funding environment). Using Billis' (2010 a; 2010b) model reveals that FERN occupies a different hybrid zone to that of LARCH and SYCAMORE - the Third/Public/Private hybrid mix zone. FERN was established with this multi-sector hybrid mix as a basis for its operations and this mix has formed the basis for organisational identity ever since. FERN operates within the third sector (as a registered charity), delivers public services funded through the public sector, and has a number of private sector arms (technically social enterprises) which engage in trading activities.

Using an 'Institutional logics' approach, Skelcher and Smith (2013) argue that hybrid organisations embody different and often competing organising principles and as such undergo '*a process of contestation and accommodation between institutional logics*' (p. 2). Accounts by respondents at FERN regarding the historical 'shift' in organisational values (precipitated by changing external funding conditions) demonstrate how such a process seems to have occurred. In order to respond to 'logics' of increased competition introduced by the external funding environment (and concomitant requirements by funding, such as more 'targets'), senior managers appealed to the 'logic' of the organisation as a 'flexible' third sector organisation (derived from its identity as a hybrid organisation), which enabled a subtle shift in values without feeling that they had compromised the 'logic' of 'client-focused'. Each of the 'logics' is accommodated although the process was not without contestation, since accounts by respondents also indicate that some FLWs at the time of the 'shift' in values were opposed to the change and subsequently left the organisation. Smith (2010) claimed hybridity could bring benefits to organisations in terms of being better able to compete for resources and respond to policy diversity, and at least in terms of the wider organisation, FERN seems to have benefited from hybridity in terms of helping the organisation respond to a changing external environment, since it is the only one of the case study organisations that had not suffered a significant reduction in income in recent years.

Using Billis' (2010a; 2010b) framework, SYCAMORE is a very different third sector organisation to FERN, having its roots as a third sector organisation but operating in an area of work dominated by large public sector providers (criminal justice). SYCAMORE is the case study organisation most dependent on public funding (98 per cent of its income comes from either local or Scottish government and its voluntary income is negligible), potentially making the organisation more vulnerable to changes in public sector funding, and making the Public element of their Third/Public hybridity mix extremely influential. This indeed is what appears to have happened, with senior managers responding to difficult funding conditions by imposing significant organisational change (restructuring services, redundancies, reducing costs). The 'private' or 'business' sector 'logic' has been ushered into the organisation through the Public hybridity component, both in terms of increased performance management measures (NPM techniques) and through

creating increased competition for public sector resources. However, the 'private' sector logic is contested by many front-line workers, particularly longer serving workers, who see a conflict between the 'private' sector logic and that of a 'client-focused' approach. The primacy of the historical Third Sector 'logic' (a client-focused approach) is being challenged because of the changes in the external environment and the dominant influence of the public sector.

In common with SYCAMORE, LARCH occupies a Third Sector/Public Sector hybrid zone of Billis' (2010a; 2010b) framework. However, LARCH operates in a very different area of work which uniquely straddles two established areas including the disability field (dominated by third sector providers) and the education field (dominated by public sector providers). LARCH is heavily dependent on public funding (94 per cent of income), but also has a small and growing income from voluntary sources. LARCH's dependence on public funding has introduced some 'private' sector logics through the reduction of costs (e.g. reduction of hours of staff), but further introduction of 'private' sector logics (such as seeking income from trading or commercial sources) proposed by members of the Board is strongly resisted by senior managers who see a fundamental conflict between 'private' sector values and 'client-focused' values. For senior managers, the third sector logic and value takes precedence and therefore senior managers prioritise the 'client-focused' logic above the 'private' sector logic which members of the Board are trying to push forward. In LARCH's case this process of contestation over the organizing principles is on-going.

The Institutional Logics approach (Skelcher and Smith 2013) therefore offers some potential insights into sources of value conflicts within the TSO. However, while the approach claims 'contestation and accommodation' are features of hybrid organisations, the approach does not offer much depth in terms of the relations between actors in this process of 'contestation and accommodation'. 'Logics' also implies rational principles that emerge without emotion or strong feeling and it could be said that to obtain a better insight, 'logics' need to be understood in terms of 'values'. The Institutional Logics approach offered by Skelcher and Smith (2013) demonstrates an awareness of the importance of identity, as well as conflict and power, but it could be argued that these can

be more fully understood through adopting a combination of approaches including Strategic Action Fields (which offers the potential to look at relations between actors within and between fields as well as offering accounts of power and change) and Social Identity Theory (which proposes more in-depth account of identity processes, particularly at the individual and group level).

The contribution of 'values', Strategic Action Fields and Social Identity approaches to understanding value conflicts will be examined later in this discussion (in section 8.3), but now the manifestation of value conflicts at individual level (specifically the level of front-line worker) and how they are managed is discussed.

8.2.2 How do value conflicts manifest at the individual level (FLWs) and how are they managed?

Drawing largely on findings from Chapter Seven, this section discusses value conflicts and how they are managed among FLWs. This section considers the implications of the research for understanding the motivations of FLWs and then discusses three types of value conflicts identified by the research. This section then briefly considers what the findings indicate about the causes of value conflicts before considering the relationship between psychological and practical strategies for managing value conflicts.

Motivation of Front-line workers: Values, Ethos and Client-focus

The literature examining Public Service Motivation (PSM), Public Service Ethos (PSE) and Voluntary Sector ethos (VSE) (e.g. Perry and Wise 1990; Steen and Rutgers 2011; Rayner et al 2010; Cunningham 2011, 2012) identifies the importance of intrinsic factors in the motivations of employees working in the public and voluntary sectors. Based on the experience in the US, Perry (1996) identified four dimensions to PSM which included: attraction to public policy making; commitment to public interest/civic duty/social justice; self-sacrifice and; compassion (Perry 1996). Taking the concept of PSE based on the British experience (Schott and Steen 2011; Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005), Cunningham (2010; 2011) argues for a distinct VSE among employees in the third sector which can be distinguished from the ethos of employees in the public sector. The orientations included in the VSE include: altruism; commitment to a particular group or cause; related political and ideological beliefs, and; a desire to care.

It was argued in Chapter Three that these approaches (PSM, PSE, VSE) faced limitations because features associated with this ethos may not be confined to particular sectors and neither do such universal concepts capture the diversity of how an 'ethos' might manifest in different contexts. However, elements of the VSE could be identified among workers in the CSOs, in particular, a 'desire to care', usually expressed by individuals as a desire to 'help people'. Some workers were also committed to helping particular groups of individuals, although the desire to help particular groups may have been developed during the course of helping these groups, rather than being a core desire established earlier in a person's life. Some FLWs also indicated a desire to help people rooted in wider values, such as social justice, while some individuals displayed what might be referred to as altruistic attitudes and behaviour, although 'altruism' itself was not specifically measured in the current study. The element of VSE that was displayed across all FLWs was the desire to 'help people', which points to the prominence of this value in the motivations of people working on the front-line. However, this is not to claim that the desire to 'help people' or any of the other elements of VSE is unique to the third sector, and, indeed Needham and Mangan (2016) do not find any key differences between public service workers across the public, private and third sectors. It would seem that when front-line workers expressed their motivations in the own words, the key motivation was to 'help people', and this motivation was common among FLWs across all three CSOs.

Vandenabeele and Hondeghem (2005) argue that PSM is *'the beliefs, values and the attitudes that go beyond self-interest or organisational interests'* (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005, p.5). The value of 'helping people' observed in this study went beyond self- or organisational interests in the case of some FLWs, and was displayed in a strong commitment to the needs and well-being of clients. Sometimes, 'helping people' not only went beyond an individual FLWs' own self-interest but could also cause conflicts with an individual FLWs self-interest. For instance, many FLWs continued in their jobs despite insecure job conditions causing potential difficulties for FLWs' own financial well-being. Conflicts between values and self-interest are examined shortly in more depth below under the next sub section.

Vandenabeele and Hondeghem (2005) also link motivation to *the 'interaction of individual values and an actual situation that enables a person to realise these values'* (Vandenabeele and Hondeghem 2005, p.5) and this can be seen in the value that FLWs across the CSOs placed on real world knowledge and practice in response to clients. It was important for FLWs to be able to put their values into practice within their roles and this was a source of significant motivation for them in their work. A 'client-focused' approach was the practical concept that FLWs in the CSOs supported and rallied around to protect from any perceived threats. There was common agreement among FLWs, at least at a general level, of what a 'client-focused' approach involved and the practice of 'client-focused' approach allowed FLWs to enact their values of wanting to 'help people' within a legitimised framework.

As identified in Chapter Four (4.5.1), a 'client-focused' approach is not unique to the third sector and at least one root of the contemporary understanding of the concept actually comes from the private sector concept of 'customer-focus' via the public sector route (Innes et al 2006; Nolan et al 2004; Needham 2006). This demonstrates again that certain elements or concepts are not confined to one sector but found across different sectors. Whatever its precise origin within the third sector (and the literature is not entirely clear on this), the concept of a 'client-focused' approach was one which FLWs in the CSOs agreed upon and which enabled them to put into practice their value of wanting to 'help people'.

There have been concerns raised that the public sector ethos and the voluntary sector ethos are challenged by NPM reforms (Hood 1991; Pollitt 2003; Steen and Rutgers 2011; Cunningham 2011) which have introduced 'business-style values and market-style reforms' (Perry and Hondeghem 2008, p 384) into public service delivery and, with the reforms, different sets of values. However, in line with the findings of Cunningham et al (2014), the FLWs in the CSOs reported maintaining a high level of commitment to clients (if sometimes disconnected from the organisations in the case of SYCAMORE) and a continued commitment to a 'person-centred' approach. However, there were indications that meanings attached to a 'person-centred' approach among FLWs within and between different CSOs were subtly different. For instance, at SYCAMORE, some FLWs felt that a 'business-focused' approach was being driven by senior managers and that

this undermined a 'client-focused' approach. However, at FERN, FLWs were much more reconciled to a 'business-approach', particularly performance management measures such as targets, in a way that seems unlikely to have been accepted among workers at SYCAMORE or LARCH. Overall, this indicates different interpretations by FLWs of what was meant by 'person-centred', in the sense of what elements did or did not constitute being compatible with a 'person-centred' approach.

Needham (2006) argued that the concept of public service ethos had changed over the previous three decades, coming to be focused on the idea of 'customer care' introduced under Labour (1997-2010) rather than professional judgement. The difference in meanings, attitudes and practices associated with a 'client-focused' approach demonstrated by FLWs in different CSOs may represent a shift currently in progress. The meanings, attitudes and practices associated with a 'client-focused' approach within FERN seems to have shifted prior to commencement of the fieldwork with reports from current employees indicating that at the time of a shift in organisational values a number of years previously, several staff left because of a perceived incompatibility with their own values. New staff were brought in with experience of working in the private sector which they viewed negatively in relation to their experience with FERN which, by comparison, seemed much more genuinely focused on client needs than their previous private sector employers. These new staff also brought a different set of expectations about what constituted a 'client-focused' approach and the findings suggest that they were much more tolerant of some features associated with a 'business-focused' approach, being able to distinguish that not all aspects of such an approach were negative and that some elements could be reconciled with a 'client-focused' approach. The experience at FERN, therefore, lends some insights into how meanings related to particular values can potentially change over time in an organisation.

Three Types of Value Conflicts

The literature has typically examined value conflicts in terms of conflicts between different values (e.g. Steenhuisen and van Eeten 2008; Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006). However, the research study indicates that there are further dimensions to value con-

flicts, in particular conflicts between different values that are intensified or created under particular conditions (limited resources) and conflicts between personal values and personal self-interest. The emergent value conflicts are now discussed in turn:

Conflicts between different values

Previous research identified conflicts between the values of ‘public service’ or ‘voluntary service’ and the “*business-like values and market-style reforms*” (Perry and Hondeghem 2008), which were introduced via NPM techniques (Hood 1991) and reinforced during austerity (Cunningham and James 2014). This basic conflict was experienced within the CSOs as a conflict between the value of a ‘client-focused’ approach and the value of a ‘business-focused’ approach (although the precise terminology used within CSOs varied). This particular and emergent value conflict emerged at the front-line in the form of differences in perceived values between different groups within the organisations. SYCAMORE, in particular, provided a prime example of the operation of the value conflict between the value of a ‘client-focused’ approach and that of a ‘business-focused’ approach. In the context of organisational change, some front-line workers perceived senior managers to hold different and opposing values which prioritised targets and ‘money’ (perceived as a ‘business-focus’) above clients.

Other value conflicts emerged within SYCAMORE. For instance, conflict of values relating to the treatment of staff – in particularly ‘fairness’ and ‘honesty’ – which were perceived by FLWs to be lacking in senior management dealings over the Working Hours Consultation and service restructuring. In both examples, conflicts between different values manifested in conflicts between different groups within an organisation and FLWs appeared relatively powerless to resist the imposition of organisational change (and with it, a different perceived value focus) resulting in managing the conflict through psychological means, such as an acceptance of the situation, and/or by appeals to ‘nostalgia’ in order to maintain identity integrity.

Conflicts between different aspects of the job which were intensified by limited resources.

Lipsky (2010 [1980]) argued that under-resourcing and ever-increasing demand for service are characteristics of public services. However, this study found that some value

conflicts were not inevitable, but were created or intensified in a context of severely restricted resources relative to service demand. Cunningham et al (2014) found that lack of resources did not reduce the commitment of workers to clients in charities in the UK and Australia, but did cause workers frustration where lack of resources limited 'person-centred' care and this scenario illustrates potential conflicts between values of client-focus and those of 'business', which were also observed in the CSOs. For instance, performance monitoring ('targets') often represented a more business-focused approach (introduced via NPM) and all FLWs were required to complete varying levels of associated 'paperwork'. However, the 'business-principles' behind the paperwork did not necessarily lead to a conflict with the value of a 'client-focused' approach where resources were sufficient to allow workers the time to do both to the level required by workers (and managers). FERN represented a particular case point since the Consortium project was in its early days and was not operating at service capacity at the time of the fieldwork. However, other workers, in services where demand outstripped resources, or where budgets were limited, often reported experiencing a conflict between spending time with clients (in order to adequately meet their needs) and completing paperwork. In many cases, FLWs prioritised client needs over paperwork (similar to 'private goal definitions' identified by Lipsky 2010), but when this was difficult to achieve in the longer term, workers often experienced stress (for instance, the stretched workers working in a busy service in SYCAMORE Glen Central which eventually was given additional resources in the form of another redeployed worker).

Limited or reduced budgets (for other things than staff time, such as financial support to help clients in training, with expenses etc.) also created conflicts for FLWs between the limits set by the funding regimes (ultimately driven by 'business-principles' of cost-cutting, or more recently by austerity) and being able to meet the needs of clients. FLWs sometimes tried to find creative solutions to getting around financial limitations, such as restricting face-to-face visits with clients but increasing telephone contact, or accessing other services. On occasions, workers used their own personal resources to help clients such as buying clients food or donating clothing.

Conflicts between values and self-interest

Previous research has had little to say about conflicts between values and self-interest, instead focusing on the conflicts between different values (e.g. Steenhuisen and van Eeten 2008; Thacher and Rein 2004; Stewart 2006). However, this research study found that while the roles of FLWs allowed many workers to put into practice their values of 'helping people' and to pursue a 'client-centred' approach in their day-to-day work with clients, jobs were also typically insecure and challenged client-worker boundaries.

For several decades, wages in the third sector have been lower than in the private or public sectors (Burke 2012; Dacombe and Bach 2009) and, more recently, jobs in the sector have become increasingly insecure (Cunningham 2015; Cunningham et al 2014). These conditions were also found among the FLWs in the CSOs, who identified a number of negative aspects of their jobs including: job insecurity (which led to uncertainty, financial insecurity, anxiety and difficulties planning), and challenges maintaining boundaries with clients and potential emotional reactions (for instance, the 'blurring' of relationship boundaries between worker and client, emotional reactions to the difficulties experienced by clients and the potential for emotional 'burnout'). However, FLWs were generally highly motivated and committed to helping clients, giving them job satisfaction and enabling them to enact values around helping people. Unfortunately, the negative aspects of their work could have negative impacts on an individual's self-interest and well-being, creating potential value conflicts for individual workers between the values of wanting to help people and their own self-interest and/or personal well-being. For instance, negative aspects of the job could lead to financial insecurity, difficulties around life planning, anxiety, becoming 'too involved' in client-worker relationships, emotional distress, and damage longer-term emotional resilience.

To deal with job insecurity, FLWs only practical solution was to seek alternative or additional employment which would offer greater stability, but most workers resorted to psychological techniques (coping strategies) to manage their expectations of the job and to focus on the positive aspects of the job. These psychological strategies have not been identified by previous research such as Lipsky (2010 [1980]). To deal with the conflict between potential boundaries and emotional issues that emerged with clients, workers

had recourse to more practical solutions such as boundary setting, but a number of workers, prompted by strong emotional reactions to clients, would break with guidelines and go beyond standard criteria in order to help clients. These issues are also taken up in the later section 8.3.4.

Causes of Value Conflicts

The findings suggest some conflicts experienced by FLWs were related to external pressures in the wider policy environment (either caused or exacerbated by the wider policy environment), while some conflicts appeared to be intrinsic to the nature of the job. Some of the terms and conditions associated with working in the third sector (such as low pay, job insecurity and work intensification) have been shown to be related to wider policy (and economic) factors, such as austerity (Baines and Cunningham 2015; Cunningham et al 2013; Cunningham 2015). However, research indicates other conditions of the job, such as emotions, appear to be fairly intrinsic to a job which requires working closely with individuals (Pugliesi 1999); and may be more so in jobs working with particularly vulnerable clients (Johnson et al 2005). In the case of particular value conflicts, the extent to which the conflicts can be attributed to external factors or to intrinsic factors is less clear-cut. For instance, limited resources may be linked to public sector funding cuts, but as Lipsky (2010 [1980]) also argues, limited resources are an inherent feature of public services since demand always exceeds supply. Limited resources are therefore, to an extent, inevitable within public services but it is also clear that there are variations in the extent to which resources are limited and some services in the current study appeared to be better resourced than others. A low level of resourcing of services relative to demand could therefore exacerbate potential conflicts.

Relationship between psychological and practical strategies

Lipsky's (2010) seminal work detailing the use of discretion by front-line public service workers (referred to as 'street-level bureaucrats' (SLBs)) provides an account of the practical and psychological strategies and practices used by SLBs to manage tensions between conflicting public service objectives, and provided the basis for exploring responses to value conflicts in the current study.

Following Lipsky (1980), this study examined practical and psychological strategies and practices employed by FLWs to manage value conflicts in the three third sector case study organisations. Since two key elements of the adopted theoretical framework focused on values and social identity theory, there was a greater emphasis on the psychological strategies than the practical strategies, and this was reflected in the methods employed, which were better suited to identifying personal accounts of psychological strategies than detailed day-to-day practical strategies. Nevertheless, some practical strategies were in evidence although the research indicates that there was not necessarily a clear-cut distinction between a psychological strategy and a practical strategy suggesting that the relationship *between* psychological and practical strategies is under-developed in Lipsky's account. For instance, Lipsky (2010 [1980]) identified 'private goal definitions' as a psychological strategy whereby SLBs favoured one aspect of their job over others in order to manage the competing aspects of the job. However, favouring one aspect of the job could also be viewed a practical strategy enabling SLBs (or FLWs) to prioritise certain aspects of their workload over others, and ultimately, providing FLWs with a guide to prioritising actions. As such, the preferred term used here is 'prioritising' because this term captures the dual psychological and practice element of the strategy (see 4.5.2 and Table 4.3). In terms of practice, many FLWs interviewed in the three CSOs prioritised clients over paperwork, and this was a strategy that was particularly employed when time constraints were pressing (for instance, during times of high service demand) - in Lipsky's (2010) terms, the 'private goal definitions' of the FLWs favour the client-facing aspects of the job rather than the paper work aspects. However, as the research has highlighted, these 'private goal definitions' are not necessarily 'private' and are often shared with other FLWs, having a strong basis in individual *and* group values (See section 8.3.3). Values therefore play a crucial role in guiding the priorities of FLWs, whilst priorities provided a guide for practical action on a day-to-day basis.

8.3 Reflections on the Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Four brought together three different theoretical bodies of literature in an attempt to provide a framework which would be able to provide explanations for the human behaviour observed in the study. This framework comprised the strands of 'values'; Strategic Action Fields (SAFs); and theories

of social identity and personal identity, and is considered within a broader Critical Realist (CR) framework. This section considers the contribution of each of these strands, and of CR overall, to understanding the behaviour of third sector organisations and FLWs within the third sector in relation to value conflicts.

The first part of this section discusses what has been learned about values from the study and how this relates to the existing literature on the subject. The second part focuses on the contribution of SAF theory to understanding the findings from the study and considers the strengths and weaknesses of the theory in relation to understanding values and change. The third part reflects on how a consideration of values can contribute to existing understandings of social identity (e.g. social identity approach) and the fourth part considers existing CR literature on identity and emotions and considers these in relation to the findings on values. The final part examines the findings from the study in relation to the contested relationship between 'habitus' and 'reflexivity' within the CR literature and considers what the operation of values found in the study can contribute to an understanding of the relationship between 'habitus' and 'reflexivity'. These final sections examining identity and emotion and habitus and reflexivity aim to contribute to the on-going debates within CR between Archer (2000) and Sayer (2005).

8.3.1 The importance of 'values'

Sayer (2011), an advocate of Critical Realism, makes the case that values matter to people, and there was abundant evidence at different levels within the case study research to confirm this. Across all the CSOs it was evident that organisational values were important to the organisations and their members, so much so that conflicts focused around these values. The core values of FLWs were associated with 'helping people' and this value provided a sense of motivation and satisfaction in their roles working with often vulnerable and/or disadvantaged clients. At organisational level, a 'client-focused' approach was generally also highly valued, leading to struggles with other groups outside and within the organisations. A number of features associated with values also emerged in the study which generally concurred with the existing literature and these are considered separately below.

Can 'values' change?

Although values are not easily relinquished, Sayer (2011) argues that value conflicts or out of the ordinary situations can prompt reflection and revision to values, and this appears to have happened at the organisational level in the case of FERN, whose senior managers faced a choice between 'shifting values' and potential organisational closure. Managers in FERN reflected on the organisational values in relation to external pressures and decided that 'shifts' could be made without undermining the 'core' value of client-focus (although some FLWs did not necessarily agree with managers). The 'shift' in values was also facilitated by another organisational identity that emphasised the values of the organisation being 'modern, flexible and forward-looking' which meant anticipating and adapting to change. However, the shift in values was not undertaken lightly and management persistently emphasised the centrality and importance of the value of a 'client-focused' approach in the organisation. The value of a 'client-focused' approach was even more resistant to change within LARCH. Management were very clear about the organisational values and their centrality and importance in the way that the organisation operated, and vigorously defended these values from potentially being undermined by introducing 'business principles' into service delivery. The Board, for their part, were equally quite passionate that 'business principles' could be employed to better meet the aims of the organisation. LARCH's case illustrated that values cannot be changed easily and that people are reluctant to compromise values (Braithwaite 1998).

In SYCAMORE, the formal organisational values had not changed but measures implemented by senior management suggested to many service level staff that 'cost-driven' values were becoming increasingly dominant in practice. 'Client-focused' values were important to all of the front-line and service level staff in SYCAMORE, but it was the longer-serving staff, who remembered a time when the 'client-focus' values remained relatively unchallenged by costs, who felt most strongly that some key quality of the 'client-focus' value had been lost. This sense of 'nostalgia' (Strangleman 2012) indicates just how important the value was to these staff, and that they had still not relinquished or compromised their belief in the 'client-focused' value, but maintained the ideal in their 'nostalgic' recollections of the past.

Values in principle and values in practice

As Sayer (2011) and West and Davis (2011) identified, there can be a difference between values in principle and values in practice and this was evidenced in the CSOs, particularly at LARCH and SYCAMORE. In LARCH, this manifested in the form of different interpretations (by different groups in the organisation based on particular experience in specific fields) of how best to pursue the formal organisational values. The Board at LARCH believed that the organisational values of empowering clients through a person-centred approach would be better supported by adopting more of a 'business approach' within the organisation. Senior Management believed adopting a 'business approach' would actually undermine the basic organisational values and the Board seemed to be unaware of what senior management saw as inherent value conflicts. There are a number of public management commentators who have argued that introducing private sector values has introduced more value conflict into public services (for instance, Van der Wal et al. 2011) or undermined the 'public service ethos' (Hood 1991; Pollitt 2003), or the 'voluntary service ethos' (Cunningham 2011) thus supporting the position of senior management in LARCH. However, it is not entirely clear whether the tensions between senior management and the Board are simply a matter of the Board being 'wrong' because they lack the knowledge and experience of working in the third sector or because the Board have a fundamentally different values position than senior management. Sandel (2012) argues that conflicts and disagreement about moral values can be based on fundamentally different philosophical positions. For instance, in Sandel's (2012) philosophical examination of the concept of 'justice' he identifies multiple different ways of thinking about 'justice', from seeing it best pursued by maximising welfare (e.g. utilitarianism), to promoting individual freedoms (e.g. free market libertarians) and to emphasising fairness and equality of opportunity (e.g. equalitarian). Opposing ways of thinking (and even differences of thinking within the same approach) often led to conflicts and disagreements about how to act in concrete situations (Sandel 2012, p. 19-21).

At SYCAMORE, a difference between values in principle and values in practice was also observed. In this case, the formal written organisation values had not changed but some front-line staff felt that senior management, in particular, did not put these values into

practice. Other staff thought that senior management did support the formal organisational values but had a different perspective on values than service level staff, i.e. a more 'strategic' approach rather than a practical 'client-focused' approach. This suggests that the different roles of individuals and groups in organisations have an impact on how they interpret and enact formal written values, since different roles face different day-to-day challenges.

Sayer (2011) also argues that these 'values in practice' tend to become habitual and taken for granted although an out of the ordinary situation or value conflict may promote reflection. This is precisely what happened in FERN as external pressures caused management to reflect on the organisational values and what they meant for the services that the organisation could provide. Following reflection, management changed the formal written values to support changes in practice.

For FLWs, their roles enabled them to manifest their values in the concrete work that they carried out helping clients so that the somewhat vague value of 'helping people' found expression in a 'person-centred' approach working with clients, where FLWs responded to the needs and issues emerging from individual clients.

8.3.2 Strategic Action Fields, Values and Change

Fligstein and McAdams' (2011; 2012) theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) was employed in the theoretical framework to provide a conception of social space and an understanding of contexts to the current research. As the literature review has shown, the broader contemporary political and economic context within which the third sector in Scotland operates is one that is characterised by funding cuts to public services, including services provided by third sector organisations (for instance, see Osborne et al 2012; Macmillan et al 2013). These changes in the broader context have resulted in what Macmillan et al (2013) called an 'unsettling' of the third sector field which is characterised by the jockeying for position between actors (incumbents and challengers) and redefinitions of rules and power relations in the field. One advantage of SAF theory, when used in conjunction with the idea of organisations-as-fields (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008), is that it provides a framework for explaining changes and stability within organisational

fields. For instance, Macmillan et al (2013) argued that the survival strategies employed within an organisation in response to changes in the broader third sector field could result in changes to the organisation itself (the organisation-as-a-field), and this is evidenced within the CSOs as shall now be illustrated.

SYCAMORE provided an example of organisational change currently in process. The measures employed by senior managers such as restructuring services and proposals to increase working hours were a direct response to external changes (increased difficulties obtaining funding), and these measures had a direct impact on relations within the organisation, opening up tensions between FLWs (particularly longer-serving staff) and senior managers. LARCH also appeared to be going through a period of change, although this had less impact on staff than at SYCAMORE (staff at LARCH had moved from full-time to part-time work, but there was relative stability in the workforce on the front-line and no evidence of the major restructuring or loss of staff which was seen at SYCAMORE). However, challenging funding conditions had opened up tensions at governance level between senior management and board members within LARCH, who were at odds over how to best meet funding challenges. In contrast to SYCAMORE and LARCH, FERN, several years prior to the research taking place, appeared to have already been through a period of internal organisational change as a response to changes in the external field. There had been a 'shift' of organisational values which appears to have caused tensions between FLWs and managers and ultimately resulted in the voluntary departure of some FLWs (although some caution is advised in interpreting these findings because of the time interval involved prior to the research).

The role of values within organisational fields has been neglected by previous research on SAFs, but this current research has demonstrated that values are of central importance within organisational fields, and in particular, values and their interpretation were the sources of conflict and struggle between groups within organisations. At SYCAMORE, tensions revolved around the interpretation of the organisational values within the organisation, particularly between senior management and longer-serving staff. Longer serving staff felt that balance between a 'client-focused' approach and 'cost-driven' approach had shifted too far in favour of the 'cost-driven' which they felt was inappropriate in the service they provided. At LARCH, the board wanted to introduce

more 'business' principles into the operation of the organisations, but these were vigorously resisted by senior management who feared the core value of a 'person-centred' approach might be compromised. FERN's organisational values had 'shifted', and appeared to have been perceived by some FLWs at that time as a shift away from a client-focused approach.

This study provides evidence to support Macmillan et al's (2013) argument that survival strategies employed within organisations in response to changes in the broader third sector field result in changes to the organisation itself with SYCAMORE in particular, but also LARCH, providing examples of increased struggles between groups of actors within organisations. This study also demonstrates that values are of key importance to actors within organisations-as-fields and values are a source of conflict and struggle between groups of actors within these fields. During times of 'unsettling', established values may become vulnerable to contestation and possible change.

While SAF theory provides an understanding of conflict between groups within organisations, evidence from the current research suggests that it does not pay due account to the role of identity in these processes, and so the next sub-section examines social identity theories focusing on how identity theories can contribute to an understanding of value conflicts and how an understanding of values might contribute to our understanding of identity processes.

8.3.3 Values and social identity

Prior to Bar-Tel (1998), the role of values in theories of SIT and SCT had been under developed, although Turner et al (1987) implied their importance and Bar-Tel's (1998) account is, arguably, limited in terms of evidence from applied contexts and in terms of accounts of change. In this thesis, it has been demonstrated that values are closely bound up with organisational, group and individual identities and being 'client-focused' was a central value in the identity of organisations and of service level workers.

The account of FLWs illustrated that values were an important dimension through which individuals differentiated their own 'in-group' positively in comparison with the 'out-group'. From the point of view of FLWs, similarities and/or differences based on values

were key to determining a common or disparate identity and values, such as the centrality of a 'client-focused' approach and the 'primacy of practice' (here, the centrality of enacting values in practice through helping clients while working on the front-line), were central to the identities of FLWs, giving workers shared meanings, identities and emotions, experiences, knowledge and practices. While FLWs strongly identified with other FLWs (the 'in-group'), some FLWs at SYCAMORE similarly differentiated themselves from senior managers in terms of their values. For some FLWs, senior managers constituted a distinct, separate group (the 'out-group') from whom FLWs distinguished themselves in terms of values, experiences, knowledge and practice (Tajfel 1978; Turner 1987; Hogg and Terry 2001).

The current research has demonstrated that FLWs shared guiding principles based on the value of 'helping people' through a 'client-focused' approach and these values provided the framework through which workers interpreted day-to-day experiences, providing the basis for making decisions in a similar way that Hogg and Terry (2001) and Tajfel (1978) predict that 'in-groups' will prescribe ways of thinking, feeling and behaviour. Guiding values were also the source of some of the value conflicts experienced by FLWs. For instance, some workers at SYCAMORE perceived that the values of the 'out-group' (the perceived 'business-focused' values held by Senior Managers) were in conflict with their own 'client-focused' values and these differences between group values may have been exaggerated by some FLWs (Turner 1987). The 'client-centred' values of the 'in-group' also led to some conflicts with the self-interest and well-being of FLWs. For instance, while the jobs of FLWs allowed them to enact their values of 'helping people', these same jobs also came with insecure conditions of employment and/or were emotionally challenging, both of which factors had the potential to undermine the self-interest and/or the well-being of the worker.

Turner et al (1987) indicate that similarities within the in-group and differences with the out-group tend to be exaggerated, and there is evidence to suggest that at SYCAMORE, differences between the out-group (senior managers) and FLWs may have been exaggerated, with some workers feeling they had little in common with senior managers. That some differences between the in-group and out-group are possibly exaggerated is suggested by the account of line managers and some other FLWs who felt that senior

managers valued a 'client focus' approach but that senior managers must also consider broader issues. Cynical workers felt that managers were motivated by reducing costs (embodied in a 'business approach') and did not value a client-focused approach which was central to their own sense of identity. This tendency to exaggerate differences seems to have been exacerbated in conditions where organisational restructuring had removed middle management layers of communication, and in circumstances where FLWs were physically isolated from senior managers.

Bar-Tel (1998) argues that some beliefs (including values) may be more central to the group than other beliefs because some beliefs are more important for differentiating the in-group from the out-group. This was particularly in evidence at the organisational level, where the 'client-focused' value was a central value which served the purpose of differentiating different organisational groups. The out-groups that are contextually salient for the purposes of organisational identity are the private and public sector providing similar services. For instance, at organisational level, a 'client-focused' approach was perceived as a central formal value in all the CSOs and it was a way in which the CSOs could distinguish their identity as different from the private or public sectors. The 'client-focused' approach defined the organisations as being part of the Third Sector, rather than the Public or the Private Sector, and made them distinctive and unique (although the distinction between workers across sectors may not be so stark according to (Needham and Mangan 2016). To cede core values would also be to lose the existing sense of organisational identity, and it has been seen how this operated within FERN who deftly 'shifted' values but only in so far as this shift did not threaten their existing identity.

MacMillan's (2012) research with TSOs in England found "'us' and 'them' dynamics" (p.11) were common among TSOs who were keen to have a distinctive identity, particularly from other sectors, and this seemed to be intensified when the organisational values might potentially be diluted. For instance, FERN management were keen to distance themselves from private sector employability providers on the grounds that the private sector providers were 'cost-driven' and placed little value on 'client-focus'. At the same time, FERN distanced themselves from other organisations in the Third Sector who were perceived to be 'inflexible' and unresponsive to changing times. This allowed

FERN to have a distinctive identity as a 'client-focused' organisation (like the Third Sector), but one that was also 'modern', 'flexible' and 'forward-looking' (like the private sector).

At LARCH, several Board Members identified themselves as coming from the private sector and sought to promote values associated with this sector adopted within the organisation. Senior Management vigorously resisted these values citing their qualifications to do so because they had more experience of the Third Sector. Both 'sides' strongly identified with different sectors which led them to promote or defend the values associated with those sectors.

At SYCAMORE, the identities of service level staff were based on being 'client-focused', but just what was meant by being 'client-focused' varied. For newer staff, clients were their main priority and focus but they often accepted increases in 'paperwork' or management measures as a necessary if not entirely welcome part of the job. Long-serving staff, however, were more resistant to these measures which they perceived to be evidence that management were more driven by costs and no longer cared about clients. The identities of these longer serving staff were rooted in an earlier ('nostalgic') incarnation of the organisation when being 'client-focused' was associated with being less cost-conscious and more focused on clients. The conditions that helped to shape the identity of longer-serving staff no longer pertained leaving them with a sense of 'loss', in a role where their personal values were less well fitted to how organisational values were enacted (Strangleman 2012).

The findings from this study support Bar-Tel (1998) in the need to emphasise the importance of beliefs in social identity processes. In particular, this study has demonstrated that values are central to individual and organisational identities, and that values are key factors by which members of the 'in-group' and 'out-group' are defined in relation to one another.

This study also raises the issue of what happens when perceived organisational identity (based on specific values) shifts or changes and individual identity (based on the original

values) remains stable. Shifting values seems to create a mismatch between organisational and individual identities and a sense of 'loss' among employees and this will be considered further shortly in relation to nostalgia (8.3.5).

Now though, further aspects associated with values are considered, in particular, the primacy of practice and the importance of emotions.

8.3.4 Primacy of Practice and the Importance of Emotions in Values

Archer (2000), a keen proponent of Critical Realism, emphasizes the primacy of practice where practical action is necessary for the articulation of identity. In a similar way, the findings from the research show that practical action is also required for actors to manifest their values. Being able to put 'client-focused' values into practice through working directly with clients was of central importance to FLWs and was a major motivation for them in choosing to continue in their roles as FLWs. Archer (2000) and Sayer (2005) both highlight the importance of emotions in providing evaluative guidance to actors' commitments (i.e. what they care about) which are considered central to an individuals' well-being and identity (Sayer 2005). The research findings support the assertions of Archer and Sayer since findings from the research demonstrated the importance of emotions in the decisions and responses of FLWs. The importance of emotions in bringing values to the fore, and then providing guidance on how to respond to a situation is perhaps most evidently seen in the reactions of FLWs to some individual clients with particular issues. For instance, Jessica at FERN provides food and clothing for a homeless young man and in so doing crosses formal boundaries between client and worker (see 7.4.3). In such cases, emotional responses highlight the centrality of key values to individuals and provide the impetus for some workers to go beyond (and sometimes break with) project and/or organisational boundaries. FLWs commonly expressed strong positive emotional responses towards 'successes' experienced in helping clients and frequently expressed feelings of satisfaction when giving accounts of clients they had been able to successfully help. Positive emotions strongly motivated FLWs to continue in their roles, thereby reinforcing their commitment and their values.

Emotions are important in bringing some key values to the centre of an individual's attention, and these values would seem to be central to an individuals' identity, in that individuals appear to be strongly compelled to act in accordance with values that have a strong emotional base (Archer 2000; Nussbaum 2001). While values can elicit a strong emotional reaction in individuals, which in turn provides the individuals with guidance for action, the relationship between emotions and an individual's well-being is less clear. This was evidenced in the research by the various instances where acting in accordance with values would actually be detrimental to other aspects of an individual's well-being. For instance, the strong emotional responses that some FLWs had to particular clients, as mentioned above, led some workers to break boundaries, potentially putting their own safety and well-being at risk. Many FLWs valued the work that they performed, but the conditions of the employment that allowed them to carry out this valued work could very often provide other challenges to workers' well-being, such as financial insecurity and the potential for emotional 'burnout'. This suggests a somewhat more complex relationship between emotions, values, identity and well-being than has been indicated by Archer and Sayer with values forming an intrinsic aspect of individual and social identity (although not the only aspect to identity). However, findings from the research suggest that values and individual well-being do not necessarily have such a necessary relationship – an action that is in accordance with an individual's values may not necessarily also be in accordance with other aspects of that individual's well-being.

The findings from this study support Archer's (2000) assertion of the importance of practice in enacting values, whereby emotions play a key role in helping individuals evaluate what is important to them (also Sayer 2005) and indicate that emotions and values can lead to individuals acting against their own well-being, pointing to a complex relationship between individuals' emotions, values, identity and well-being that seems to be little understood in the established literature.

The next, and final, section considers how values operate in relation to reflexivity and habitus and what this demonstrates about the relationship between reflexivity and habitus, informing a debate between Critical Realist scholars about the relative importance of reflexivity and habitus in shaping human behaviour.

8.3.5 The role of reflexivity and Habitus in Values

A key difference between Archer (2000) and Sayer (2005) is the relative roles afforded to reflexivity and habitus in human behaviour, with Archer favouring the primacy of reflexivity, and Sayer seeking a balance between the two. The findings from the research also highlight the relationship between reflexivity and habitus in the way that individuals make evaluations of how their roles fit with their values. Firstly, as was demonstrated in relation to the primacy of practice and the importance of emotions (8.3.4) where emotions and values may be triggered in response to practical emerging situations (for instance, in response to some clients and their circumstance). Until that point, values may remain latent to a certain extent, and it is only through responding to novel or new situations that latent (or possible vague, not fully formed) values become concrete.

Two further examples from the research that also provide evidence for assessing the relationship between reflexivity and habitus included the cynicism of some longer-serving SYCAMORE employees towards a 'business-orientated' approach of management seen to undermine the more traditional organisational 'client-focused' value. A further example was the positive perception of 'targets' within FERN particularly by employees who had previously been employed with a private sector delivery organisation (see 7.4.5).

In both cases, FLWs consciously reflected in interviews on the fit between their personal values and those evidenced within the organisation. This reflection on the part of FLWs was encouraged during the course of interviews for the research in order to explore the issue and the research process may therefore inevitably have potentially caused workers to express opinions and attitudes to matters that had previously remained latent or vague. While the potential influence of the research process on the findings is an ever-present concern in interview research, it was also clear to the researcher that for many FLWs, the interview was not the first time that particular opinions had been expressed (there is evidence for this when workers say they have discussed things with colleagues, or management knows their point of view). Processes of reflection have been noted by previous researchers in relation to nostalgia in organisations (e.g. Strangleman 2012) and in the research FLWs drew on their own experience within particular organisational

fields at particular times in order to make comparisons between their current and past experience. In a clear example of the role of 'nostalgia', longer-serving employees at SYCAMORE compared the difference between the current organisation and the organisation as it was a number of years ago and often concluded that 'client-focused' values had become less important. The comparison between past and present led to a certain level of cynicism by FLWs regarding senior management in the organisation and a feeling among workers that the organisation no longer shared their own 'client-focused' values. The previous experience of working in SYCAMORE forms part of FLWs 'habitus' which (along with a complex mix of other personal and institutional experiences that form an individuals 'habitus') supports habitual ways of thinking about client-focused values and the ways in which they should be acted upon within the organisation. Organisational change prompts these FLWs to reflect on the comparisons between the organisational field as it stands after the change and as it was (perceived to be) before the change. For these workers, their reflections conclude that the current organisational field is less favourable to 'client-focused' values as these workers understand the values. In a sense, the organisational field within which these workers find themselves has changed, but their own personal (and to an extent, shared with other longer-serving workers) 'habitus' has remained the same resulting in felt conflict.

At FERN, a number of workers compared their experiences with experiences of working in the private sector providing similar services to clients. In these cases, the private sector organisations were perceived (negatively) to embody values that favoured targets and money over clients (which the workers perceived challenged their own 'client-focused' values), whereas in comparison, FERN placed less importance on targets (although targets existed they were considered realistic) and much more importance on providing a 'client-focused' approach. As such, the workers at FERN with previous experiences in the private sector appeared much more content with their current roles than their previous roles because their current roles were perceived to be much more in alignment with their own values. This example indicates that values of the previous private workplace (organisational field) were not in accordance with these workers 'habitus', leading to dissatisfaction and a change of organisational field, the new field of which is assessed by workers to be more in line with their personal values. Yet, even though experiences of the private employer were negative and considered out of step

with workers own 'habitus', these experiences have still shaped the experiences of these workers, in the sense that the experiences have become integrated into these workers 'habitus' as a point of negative reference. By comparison, FERN, despite having a target-orientation, is perceived by FLWs to value a 'client-focused' approach to a much greater extent. Therefore, experience in different organisational fields has an influence on individuals' 'habitus' (either positive or negative) and a change in the organisational field (either through internal organisational change or through an individual moving to a different organisation) prompts some reflection on the part of the individual in order to assess (1) the differences in values between organisational fields, and (2) whether the differences in values are more or less in accord with personal values (in the context of a broader 'habitus').

These examples also suggest that existing research examining 'nostalgia' (e.g. Strangleman 2012), while useful in understanding the interplay between reflection and 'habitus' has been somewhat limited in scope by only examining longer-serving employees within the same organisation. Findings from the research demonstrates that workers make comparisons between their current and previous working experiences across different employers, and that previous experiences may not necessarily be perceived more positively.

It has been seen here how FLWs consciously make evaluations of the fit between their current position and their values by reflecting on their previous experience, whether that be in the same organisation, or in a different organisation. More generally, FLWs are limited in the comparisons that they are able to make because of their (necessarily) limited previous experience within other organisational fields. Therefore, workers practice reflection in order to make evaluations of the extent to which their values commitments are being met, but these are necessarily limited by an individual's previous experience in different organisational (and other) fields. It is only by having a point of comparison with previous experience of particular fields that individuals are able to make evaluations, since it is only through experience (i.e. practice) that commitments can be formulated and clarified. As both Sayer (2005) and Archer (2000) point out, individuals' evaluations may be mistaken, especially where evidence is limited. Experience in other

organisational fields can therefore potentially provide valuable knowledge to help individuals more effectively formulate their own commitments.

The findings from this study support Sayer (2005) who argues for a balance between the roles of reflexivity and habitus in the role of human behaviour. Archer (2000) argues for the primacy of reflexivity, but this study has shown that while reflexivity is crucial for individuals in order for them to make evaluations of the fit between their environment and their personal values, this reflexivity is circumscribed by an individuals' habitus.

The study also indicates that the concept of 'nostalgia' proposed by Strangleman (2012) has the potential to illuminate the processes that link reflection and habitus, but that the concept would benefit from being developed and broadened to include experiences of other workplaces and to include both positive and negative perceptions of past workplace environments, and how these shape the perceptions and decisions made by employees within their current workplaces.

8.3.6 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to discuss the findings from the research study carried out in three third sector organisations in relation to the research questions and the literature considered in Chapters Two and Three and the theoretical framework detailed in Chapter Four. Before providing conclusions in the next (final) chapter, this short section summarises the salient points emerging from the discussion of literature and findings which provide the basis for the concluding chapter.

This study has shown that organisational hybridity has the potential to offer benefits to some organisations in terms of ability to compete for contracts, but only if organisations are able to accommodate the different 'logics' suggested by different values within a coherent organisational identity. Some organisations struggled with the increased pressure to adopt more 'private' sector practices because of perceived conflicts with existing values and a strong established organisational identity that emphasised a 'client-focus'. The increased pressures to adopt practices associated with the 'private' sector led to on-going tensions between groups within the organisations.

The FLWs in the CSOs exhibited some of the elements associated with an 'ethos' approach to the motivation of public or voluntary service workers, particularly the value of 'helping people'. This value was realised through the practice of a 'client-focused' approach which put clients at the heart of practice although the perception of the compatibility of a 'client-focused' approach with that of a 'business-focused' approach differed between workers in the CSOs, indicating that what was meant by a 'client-focused' approach differed. The experience of FERN (where several years previously the organisation had experienced the departure of some staff and entry of several new staff coming from the private sector) indicates that meanings associated with values such as a 'client-focused' approach can change over time.

The study identified three distinct types of value conflicts that were experienced by FLWs within the CSOs. Firstly, conflicts between different values such as that of a 'client-focused' approach and a 'business-focused' approach were identified. However, these conflicts did not always inevitably lead to conflicts for FLWs, but could become problematic in an environment of limited resources, so a second category of value conflicts was identified, that of conflicts between different aspects of the job which were intensified by limited resources. Finally, values were observed to sometimes conflict with the self-interest of FLWs, creating potential problems for workers whose pursuit of being able to enact their values in the job could lead to compromises with their own self-interest.

The study identified some of the causes of values conflicts experienced by FLWs. While some potential value conflicts appeared to be intrinsic to the nature of the work (such as managing personal boundaries and emotions), other conflicts were related to the external environment (for instance, job insecurity). Lack of resources was a potential conflict that may be inherent in public service delivery, but conflicts relating to lack of resources could be intensified by low levels of resources.

FLWs employed a mixture of practical and psychological strategies in order to manage value conflicts in the course of their work. Effective psychological strategies were particularly important because these strategies could provide guidance on which practical strategies to adopt, such as which tasks to prioritize when resources were tight.

The study has shown that values are important to people who work in the third sector in Scotland, and to third sector organisations themselves. Values are not particularly easy to change, although out of the ordinary situations and intense external pressures can produce reflection on values. In some circumstances, the study demonstrated that values can 'shift', although are not relinquished, in circumstances where the core values are not perceived to be compromised, such as in FERN where organisational values shifted in so far as the core value of a client-centred approach was not perceived to be threatened

This study identified that differences between values in principle and values in practice can cause conflict between different groups in organisations. The differences between values in principle and values in practice can result from the different meanings and interpretations of a particular value which can be rooted in fundamentally different philosophical positions. For FLWs, working directly with clients using a 'person-centred' approach enabled FLWs to manifest their value of 'helping people' in concrete situations.

The third sector field in Scotland was going through a period of 'unsettling' which led to changes observed within the CSOs. External changes, and organisational responses to these external changes caused an 'unsettling' within the organisational field itself leading to tensions between different groups within the organisation, with values often being the focus of the tensions and conflicts between the different groups.

The study demonstrated that values are an important component in identity, both of employees and of organisations themselves. Employees and organisations (senior managers) distinguished between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' based on perceived differences in values between the groups, with a perceived commitment to a 'client-focused' approach being a crucial value upon which judgements were made.

Practice was important for enacting values and emotions played a central role in providing guidance as to what values were important to individuals. However, the strength of emotions and values could lead some individuals to act in ways that may be in conflict with their own well-being.

The study found that actors exercised reflexivity in relation to considering what values were important to them, but that this reflexivity was circumscribed by an individual's habitus in the form of previous experience on which an individual would draw in order to make evaluations between their experience of their current and previous circumstances, and the fit these circumstances had with an individual's values.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

The core aims of this thesis were to examine how value conflicts manifested and were managed within the third sector in Scotland, with particular focus on front-line workers. This thesis began by examining the contexts within which TSOs operated within the UK and Scotland and the motivations of the TSO workforce. In order to provide a framework to consider the research questions, three theoretical approaches including values, Strategic Action Fields and social identity processes were brought together to provide a general framework which was supplemented by more specific work on hybridity, institutional logics and on Street-Level Bureaucrats to address the particular topic at hand. Case study research (which was informed by the theoretical frameworks and the research questions) was carried out in three TSOs in Scotland. The findings suggest that value conflicts may occur within different social spaces and between different groups within organisations depending on organisational context. FLWs had strong value orientations to 'help people' which often found expression in adopting a 'client-focused' approach in their direct work with clients, but a 'client-focused' approach sometimes came into conflict with other aspect of FLWs jobs, notably other aspects of the job that were perceived to support a 'business-orientated' approach. Nevertheless, FLWs were able to utilise a variety of strategies in order to manage potential value conflicts and maintain their commitment and motivation to their roles.

In the light of the theoretical framework and findings from the case studies, this final concluding chapter will outline the distinctive contribution that the thesis makes to existing knowledge and thinking and will consider policy implications that follow from the findings. This chapter will also consider some of the limitations of the thesis and then, finally, conclude by considering further possibilities for future research.

9.2 Distinctive Contribution of the Thesis

This thesis has led to a number of contributions to knowledge that shall be outlined in this section³.

This first contribution of this thesis is to utilise a unique combination of theoretical resources in order to analyse behaviour in third sector organisations, specifically highlighting value conflicts that take place in different social spaces within organisations. To analyse value conflicts, the thesis draws upon Strategic Action Field theory, theories of social identity processes, understandings of hybridity and institutional logics and existing work on the behaviour of Street Level Bureaucrats, placing these all within the broader framework of Critical Realism. This unique combination of theoretical approaches provides a perspective that is able to hold together the complex interactions of a range of forces within a stratified social space, without any premature conflation of structure and agency. The second contribution of this thesis is to highlight the normative aspects of human behaviour in organisations consideration of which has been limited within the public management and human resource management literature. Previous research indicated that values are important to TSOs and the staff who work in them (e.g. Cunningham 2010) but this thesis has focused more in-depth on values and value conflicts and highlighted the centrality of values in the motivations of individuals, groups and organisations within TSOs in Scotland. By focusing on values and value conflicts, this thesis has been able to identify that the very reason why many staff choose to work in the third sector (to ‘help people’) may be in contradiction with other aspects that are increasingly prevalent in the sector (such as increased business-orientation).

The third contribution of this thesis is that by focusing on values, it has been able to indicate a greater potential for the theory of competing “institutional logics’ in the context of increasing organisational hybridity (Skelcher and Smith 2013). Competing ‘logics’

³ The research was based on a limited number of case studies - three third sector organisations working in particular work areas – and therefore the contributions of the thesis and policy implications may have limited wider applicability (see 9.4 covering limitations of the research). However, given Critical Realism’s focus on underlying ‘generative mechanisms’ it is not necessary to have representative population samples in order to make important contributions to knowledge or on which to base policy recommendations (see 5.4.3).

can be conceptualised as competing 'values' thus recognising a normative dimension to human and organisational behaviour which is lacking in previous theory.

A fourth contribution of this thesis is that it builds on and develops the body of literature around Lipsky's (1980) *Street-Level Bureaucrats*. Lipsky's work has been revisited by a number of authors recently who have developed his work in different ways, for instance, by focusing on different contexts (Hupe and Buffat 2014), on discretion (Tummers and Bekkers 2014) and on role conflicts (Sager et al 2014). However, none has focused on values. By focusing on values, this thesis highlights the psychological processes and strategies adopted by FLWs in response to managing value conflicts and, in particular, this thesis develops Lipsky's (1980) understanding of the conflicts faced by Street-Level Bureaucrats (front-line workers) in a modern context and identifies further strategies front-line workers use to manage conflicts and maintain their motivation.

The fifth contribution of this thesis has been to develop and empirically test the theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) (Fligstein and McAdam 2011; 2012). SAF theory has the potential to provide an understanding of the social space within which TSOs in Scotland operate and this thesis found the theory contributed to the broader theoretical framework by providing an understanding of the contexts and social fields within which human beings operate. In the case of third sector organisations, SAF theory helped to frame the relationship of the organisations to actors in the wider environment (e.g. other organisations, policy agencies etc.) and the relationships between actors within the organisation. However, SAF theory was found to be simplistic in its conception of 'incumbents' and 'challengers' where a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between different social groups is required. Social identity processes provide a more subtle understanding of how individuals and groups operate and relate to each other within social fields (in this case organisations), but the role of values in theories of social identity processes has been underdeveloped. This thesis has been able to support the work of Bar-Tel (1998) and develop a better understanding of the crucial role played by values in social identity processes.

A sixth contribution of this thesis is to demonstrate the crucial role played by emotions in enacting values and social identity, thus supporting and developing previous work by

Nussbaum (2001), Archer (2000) and Sayer (2011). Emotional reactions to particular situations provide individuals with important self-knowledge guiding them to particular moral courses of action and sometimes leading them to break formal organisational rules, boundaries, and acting in ways that may be not be in the best interest of their own wellbeing. Emotions provide a guide to how to act and the moral imperative suggested by a strong emotional reaction to a situation may be stronger than the imperative of compliance with organisational rules or even self-interest.

This thesis has also been able to contribute to the on-going debate about the relative roles of reflexivity and habitus in human behaviour (particularly the debate between Archer 2000 and Sayer 2005) by providing additional evidence to suggest that reflexivity in relation to values may be prompted by evaluations of present and past circumstances, but reflexivity is necessarily circumscribed by an individual's habitus.

9.3 Policy Implications

The findings from this thesis have implications for governmental (UK, Scottish and local) policy on the third sector, human resource practices in the sector and for third sector organisations themselves.

The first policy implication emerging from this thesis concerns the impact of austerity policies on the role of the third sector. The role of the third sector in public policy has undergone many changes as highlighted in Chapter Two, and there is on-going debate about the role of the third sector in the delivery of public services (e.g. McMillan 2013; Rees and Mullins 2016). This research found that austerity policies are creating and intensifying conflicts between NPM-style cost-cutting and its focus on a 'business-orientation', and the value of a 'client-focused' approach. As such, austerity policies may be undermining the very values of providing client-focused services that governments have sought to encourage in TSOs by risking 'killing the golden goose' (Aiken and Bode, 2009) because third sector organisations are undergoing change and becoming more hybrid (Billis 2010a; 2010b). Austerity and its impact on TSOs are of concern to government at different levels (UK, Scotland and local) as well as to the third sector itself.

A second (and related) implication from the research is that value conflicts faced by TSOs and their employees may be becoming more intensified. There are difficult challenges for TSO organisations who are under strong pressure to adopt 'business-orientated' approaches in order to survive, but whose very reason for existing in the first place is based on a strong values orientation that may be compromised in a 'business-orientated' environment. Likewise, there are implications for the staff who work in the third sector who are strongly motivated to 'help people' through focusing on client needs when the sector is increasingly adopting more private sector values. This has implications for human resource management in the sector. Since wages and other terms and conditions have deteriorated in the sector (Cunningham 2015; Baines and Cunningham 2015), values are a key recruitment incentive for workers (Burt and Scholarios 2011), but the sector risks losing its distinctiveness along with the staff who feel they are no longer able to manifest their values through jobs in the third sector.

A third policy implication is that the quality of the services received by clients of TSOs may become negatively affected because of limited resources. The impact on the quality of services provided has wider implications for the funders of public services at central and local government levels. This research demonstrated the strong commitment of FLWs to clients, but that this commitment can sometimes be frustrated in the context of scarce resources leading to clients receiving less support from FLWs. Less support for clients may result in a poorer quality of service and less positive outcomes for clients and, ultimately, potentially, lead to increased social problems in society, as some of the most disadvantaged and/or vulnerable people in society fail to receive the support necessary for them to achieve their potential. In the case of the clients of the TSOs involved in this research, there are implications for re-offending rates as SYCAMORE attempts to help ex-offenders, or for disadvantaged and/or vulnerable people at FERN who may find it harder to realise their potential in terms of finding a suitable job, or for people with learning disabilities who at LARCH may face increasing difficulties accessing learning opportunities and improving their lives.

On a more practical level, the fourth policy implication is that the length of funding contracts should be extended to at least three years. Local government contracts have increasingly become short-term in some areas (e.g. at SYCAMORE) but (wages and other

conditions aside) this has very practical implications for staff well-being and staff retention which may be averted by making available longer contracts of at least three years in length. The longer four-year contract for the 'Consortium' project at FERN provided staff with job security that was lacking at SYCAMORE, in particular, enabling workers to focus on their jobs and not be distracted by annual financial anxieties about potential contract renewal, as well as providing continuity of service for the clients. The nature of funding contracts is a matter for central as well as local government because the nature of central UK government austerity policies has curtailed the financial resources available to local government who may then not be in a financial position to award longer funding contracts.

The fifth policy implication arising from the research is that discretion among FLWs should be encouraged. Discretion was crucial to enabling FLWs to pursue a 'client-focused' approach and helped FLWs maintain their motivation as well as having potential benefits for clients. Recognising and valuing the vital role played by discretion might result in organisations, funders and government avoiding practices that might undermine the use of discretion. Government and funders might look at ensuring that funding contracts do not standardise project criteria to the extent that discretion of FLWs would be curtailed. Organisations might encourage the use of discretion through highlighting the important role that discretion plays in pursuing a client-centred approach and supporting and trusting FLWs to exercise their discretion in the best interests of clients.

The sixth implication from the research relates to what actions individual TSOs might take in response to the findings from this research. TSOs have had and continue to have difficult and important decisions to make about their future trajectories and how they respond to austerity and an increasingly competitive market for public sector funding. Many TSOs have had a period of reflection on their purpose and their values, and reoriented their strategies for the future, with some TSOs ceasing to operate altogether (Osborne et al 2012). A small TSO may have limited scope to promote its own agenda by itself but umbrella bodies for TSOs continue to push for policy changes to improve the lot of their clients, who also face increasingly difficult circumstances (e.g. Scottish Council for Voluntary Services). Internally, organisations can support FLWs through open communication, giving FLWs a voice in decision-making. For instance, at LARCH staff

made the decision to reduce their working hours rather than have redundancies. Organisations could encourage flexible practices, such as the formal flexitime scheme operated at SYCAMORE, which helped staff manage fluctuating workload demand. Training and sharing good practice around managing boundaries between FLWs and clients might help FLWs to deal with difficult, and sometimes emotional, issues that arise when working directly with vulnerable and/or disadvantaged clients.

9.4 Limitations

The research study has a number of limitations that need to be highlighted before moving onto the final section which will consider possibilities for future research. The research study was based on a small number of case studies of small and medium-sized third sector organisations delivering specific services to vulnerable and/or disadvantaged people in Scotland and there are issues around the extent to which the findings are applicable more widely. The three third sector CSOs worked in different areas covering learning disabilities, criminal justice and employability but we cannot be certain that the findings reflect what is happening within other organisations involved in these areas of work, or indeed to TSOs delivering services to different vulnerable and/or disadvantaged groups. The case studies were carried out within small and medium sized organisations within the third sector and it is not known the extent to which the findings are likely to be applicable to large organisations in the sector. The research focused on TSOs in Scotland and it is not known how far the findings may be applicable to the situation of TSOs in the rest of the UK, especially given the different policy environments that exist.

A further limitation was that the research study was not able to recruit any TSOs that were, at the time of the research, affected by the Social Care (Self-Directed Support) (Scotland) Bill 2012, because the CSOs did not provide services to clients eligible for self-directed support. The self-directed support agenda potentially represents a major change to the organisation of services with significant implications for FLWs and values and even, perhaps, the future direction of the provision of social services more generally.

This study particularly focused on the experiences of FLWs in TSOs and although the examination of value conflicts at organisational level (Chapter Six) provided some glimpses into the experiences of other groups in the organisation such as senior managers and board members, these experiences were not considered specifically or systematically across the CSOs. It is not known the extent to which other groups face value conflicts, what these values conflicts consist of and how these value conflicts are managed. The fieldwork included interviews with a number of service and line managers across the TSOs but inclusion of the managers' experiences was beyond the scope of the thesis which necessarily has limits to its length and scope. Other groups of potential interest might include support workers and technicians; senior and middle managers, and directors.

The study focused on the perceptions and experiences of FLWs in relation to values and value conflicts experienced in their jobs, irrespective of other characteristics of the FLW, such as gender, and yet a high proportion of workers in the third sector, and in the CSOs, are female. The research was not designed to capture differences in gender since, in the light of limited previous research, the focus was on establishing a body of research that considered values and value conflicts experienced by FLWs. However, the research was designed to respond to issues that emerged from the fieldwork which had not necessarily been considered beforehand, and the analysis did not identify any notably different experiences between male and female FLWs or in their values, value conflicts experienced or strategies used. More focused, nuanced and in-depth qualitative research would have been required to explore the dimension of gender.

Finally, this study was limited in that it was only able to carry out cross-sectional, single-point-in-time research (usually over a number of weeks or months) within the organisations. As such, it was difficult to capture reliable data on changes over time, although participants did provide historical data in the form of retrospective accounts, which provided some indications of changes over time. However, inaccurate recollections may be a problem when interviewees relate experiences that happened previously (Bryman and Bell 2007) and longitudinal research which returns to organisations at certain points over a longer time period would be necessary to fully and accurately capture change within organisations.

9.5 Future Research

This section considers how future research might both respond to the limitations of the current research, and develop points raised by the research in order to advance research into values and value conflicts and third sector organisations and their workers.

Future research might consider examining values and value conflicts within larger TSOs in order to understand if larger TSOs experience similar value conflicts based on the conflict between 'client-focused' values and 'business-focused' values and, if so, how the value conflicts manifest and are managed by organisations. Other groups of paid workers within TSOs might also be examined to see if they share the 'client-focused' approach with FLWs, or have other sets of values that are more important to them. Many other groups of workers do not have direct contact with clients on a one-to-one basis to the same extent as FLWs and this may make a difference to their values, how values are expressed, the value conflicts experienced and strategies employed to manage value conflicts. Line managers may be an interesting group of workers within TSOs because line managers work directly with FLWs and may also have once been FLWs themselves. Perhaps line managers may share a 'client-focused' approach with FLWs or perhaps FLWs who go on to become line managers have a different array of values than FLWs who remain on the front-line. The experience of being a line manager may also have a bearing on the values of line managers and how values are expressed, particularly in light of the fact that line managers occupy a position between FLWs and more senior managers. This 'in-between' role may have implications for the value conflicts experienced by line managers and their strategies to deal with value conflicts since line managers may potentially share values associated with both groups, FLWs and senior managers.

Further research may also consider whether there are differences between the motivations and values of male and female FLWs in TSOs, especially as workers in the sector are more likely to be female. Are there subtle differences in the meanings of a 'client-focused' approach between men and women and how this approach is expressed in practice with clients? There may also be gender differences in the nature and extent to which male and female FLWs experience value conflicts. For instance, women are more

likely to report suffering from anxiety and depression (Mental Health Foundation 2017), which might be connected to women being more likely to experience value conflicts and/or less likely to be to find suitable strategies to manage value conflicts. Are there gender differences in access to and types of strategies used to manage value conflicts and are there gender differences in access to peer support networks? In terms of social identity group, there was no evidence in this current study that gender was a salient factor in group identity, but more in-depth focused research might find that subtle differences become apparent.

Further research might invest in longitudinal research re- interviewing staff within the same TSOs at periodic intervals to ascertain the impact of organisational change and the processes associated with potential changes to organisational and individual/group values. There have been limited longitudinal studies carried out in the third sector in Scotland (Dutton et al 2013) and England (Macmillan et al 2013), which were able to examine organisational responses to changing environments over the relatively short-term but these studies ended after three or four years and only considered the wider organisational experience and not the experiences of FLWs (or other groups in the organisation). Further longitudinal research tracking individual workers within organisations would provide a unique perspective on individual responses to organisational change.

The research identified a number of issues that might fruitfully be explored further in future research. Among the issues that emerged included the importance of a 'client-focused' approach to FLWs and yet, at the same time, a 'client-focused' approach may actually have its roots in the private sector concept of 'customer-focused' that was adopted by the public sector under New Labour (Innes et al 2006; Nolan et al 2004; Needham 2006). This demonstrates that certain elements or concepts are not confined to one sector but can be found across different sectors and a pertinent question for further research might be to try to understand how similar elements or concepts are understood across diverse contexts. For instance, how similar is a 'customer-focused' approach in a private sector organisation to a 'client-focused' approach adopted within the third sector, or what are the differences and similarities of a 'client-focused' approach between FLWs in the third sector and in the public sector? What are the different ways that workers who value 'helping people' more generally find to express this

value across the sectors? There are also indications that meanings of concepts such as a 'client-focused' approach may shift in relation to changing political, economic and organisational environments (Innes et al 2006; Nolan et al 2004; Needham 2006), and longitudinal research (as noted above) may be needed to probe the shifts in meanings and how values are enacted and expressed in practice.

APPENDIX A: FLEXIBLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Managing Multiple Values in the Third Sector

Flexible Interview Schedule

OUTLINE QUESTIONS

Participants will be given some basic information about the interview prior to the actual event taking place.

Note: There will be some re-ordering of questions depending how each individual interview evolves, for instance some individual questions will require rewording/rephrasing for particular interviewees.

Introduction

- Welcome. Introduce self.
- About the project. Outputs from the project.
- Confidentiality arrangements
- Permission for audio recording

Interviewee Details

Name. Position. Department. Organisation.

For front-line staff and line managers start with 'About Your Job' Q4 and Q5, then return to Q1. If time, also ask Q3 & Q2.

For CEOs and Senior Managers begin with Q1, Q2 and Q3. If time, also ask Q4 & Q5.

For Board Members, Union Representatives and HRM representatives focus on Qs 1, 2 & 3.

1. Organisational Values

- What in your opinion or experiences does the organisation do?
- What do you believe to be the core organisational values?
- Why are these values important to the organisation?
- Have these changed in the last few years or so? How have they changed? Why?
- Does the organisation face any challenges in maintaining these values? What? Probe.

- Do you think that [staff members, departments etc.] share these values? If not, why not? Discuss in more detail the values of particular groups in the organisation.
- If values are shared, why is it important that [particular groups/staff] share organisational values?
- What are the consequences if values are not shared?

2. Policy and Politics

- What is your view of the priorities and values held by:
 - Westminster Government
 - Scottish Government
- What specific policies / at Scottish Government / Westminster level particularly relate to the service that you provide? How are they relevant?
- How do these policies affect your organisation, either directly or indirectly? What impact have they had? How do they fit with your existing core organisational values? Do they conflict? Probe for examples if yes.

3. External Partners

- Who are your key partners? Identify key funders, delivery partners, interest group partners.
- What is your relationship with each? How much influence do they have over your organisation? In what ways?
- What do you think are the priorities and values of these bodies? To what extent do you think your organisation [you personally] share those priorities and values? In what ways are they similar or different?
- Do you think these bodies share priorities/values with each other and Westminster / Scottish Government? What is shared? What is different? Do the priorities/values conflict? Probe for examples.
- What implications do different values have on your organisation? Do these values conflict? What implications does this have for how you deliver the service/manage staff? Do you have to prioritise particular values? How do you do this?

4. About Your Job

- What does your job (briefly) entail? Outline of service provided.

- How long have you been in your current post? How long have you been with this organisation?
- What did you do before?
- Why did you apply for this particular job?
- What aspects of the job are important to you? Would you continue to do the job if some or all of these were removed? Why?
- Has the job changed at all since you have been in post? How? Why has the job changed?
- Has the change brought about any challenges for you? How have you adjusted to the changes?
- Do you ever feel that sometimes some aspects of your role sometimes conflict? Probe for examples
- What do you do when this happens? Probe for examples
- How does this conflict make you feel? Probe
- What other impact does this conflict have? E.g. on clients, service provided relationships etc.

5. Colleagues and Partners

- Who do you have contact with in the course of your ordinary job? E.g. colleagues, senior managers, Board members, others in the organisation, clients, partners, local government, central government, other bodies etc. How often do you have contact with each of these and by what means? E.g. face-to-face, phone, email etc. What is the nature of your relationship?
- Do you feel that you share any values or priorities with any of these individuals or groups? Who? What? Do you identify personally or professionally with any of these individuals or groups? In what way do you identify with them?
- Do you feel that any of these individuals or groups has very different priorities or values to you? Who? What? Do you identify personally or professionally with any of these individuals or groups? In what way do you identify with them?
- Do you consult with any of these individuals or groups when you make decisions relating to your job? Who? Probe for an example. What do you ask them? How does their response influence your decision?

APPENDIX B: INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

Managing Multiple Values in the Third Sector

Information and Consent Form for Participants

This document provides further information for individuals taking part in an interview or a focus group for the research project on 'Managing Multiple Values in the Third Sector'.

It includes a brief overview of what the project is about, the protocols for ethics, confidentiality and data protection of information given by participants and how the data will be used.

A consent form is appended on the final page. At the end of an interview or focus group participants will be asked to complete this form if they are happy with the arrangements stated.

Further information about the project is available on the website at:
<http://thirdsectorvalues.wordpress.com/>

About the Project

The Third Sector in Scotland plays a key role in delivering public services, often combining this role with other important functions, like promoting volunteering, championing a particular cause or client group and/or community or civic involvement. Alongside public service spending cuts and changing policy priorities, this can mean increased tensions between competing priorities.

This project will examine how organizations and their employees manage multiple and potentially conflicting values. In particular, the project will look at the employee experience in terms of changes to their roles, how they manage potential value conflicts and what difference this makes to their commitment, values and wellbeing.

Ethics, Confidentiality and Data Protection

This research follows the British Sociological Association Code of Practice on Ethical Standards of Research which can be found at <http://www.britsoc.co.uk/about/equality/statement-of-ethical-practice.aspx>.

The research also has the approval of the Heriot-Watt University Ethics Committee.

Individual organisations and participants will not be named in the final report but will be allocated appropriate pseudonyms, where required. All data gathered from interviews, focus groups, attending meetings and informal discussions will remain confidential and will not be passed on to any other party. In addition, individual data will not be passed on to other parties within the organisation. Ownership of the data remains with the individual participant and the researcher.

How the data will be used

A short confidential summary of key findings will be produced for the case study organisation prior to publication of the main outputs. Comments will be invited from members of the organisation, although any final changes remain at the discretion of the researcher.

Data gathered from the case study are primarily to be used to produce academic outputs such as a thesis and journal papers. However, it is also hoped that the research will inform policy and practice within the third sector in Scotland. To this end, articles in industry journals and magazines will be submitted and participating organisations will be consulted on the details of any submissions.

About the Researcher

This research project is being carried out by Sue Bond as part of a PhD research project which is funded by the Centre for Work and Wellbeing at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh. Sue is an experienced researcher and previously worked as a Senior Research Fellow at the Employment Research Institute, Edinburgh Napier University for 14 years. Previous research projects included 'Opportunities and Challenges for the Third Sector in Scotland', funded by the Scottish Government, 2009-2012.

Contact and Further information

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CONSENT FORM

Managing Multiple Values in the Third Sector

Participant Name:

Organisation/Location:

Email/Tel:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated June 2014 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the research team.

☐

4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations without my express written permission.

☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

6. I agree for the interview / focus group being audio recorded on the understanding that this data is for the use of the researcher only and will not be passed on to any other party

☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

One copy each is to be retained by the Participant and the Researcher

Thank you for your participation in the project

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